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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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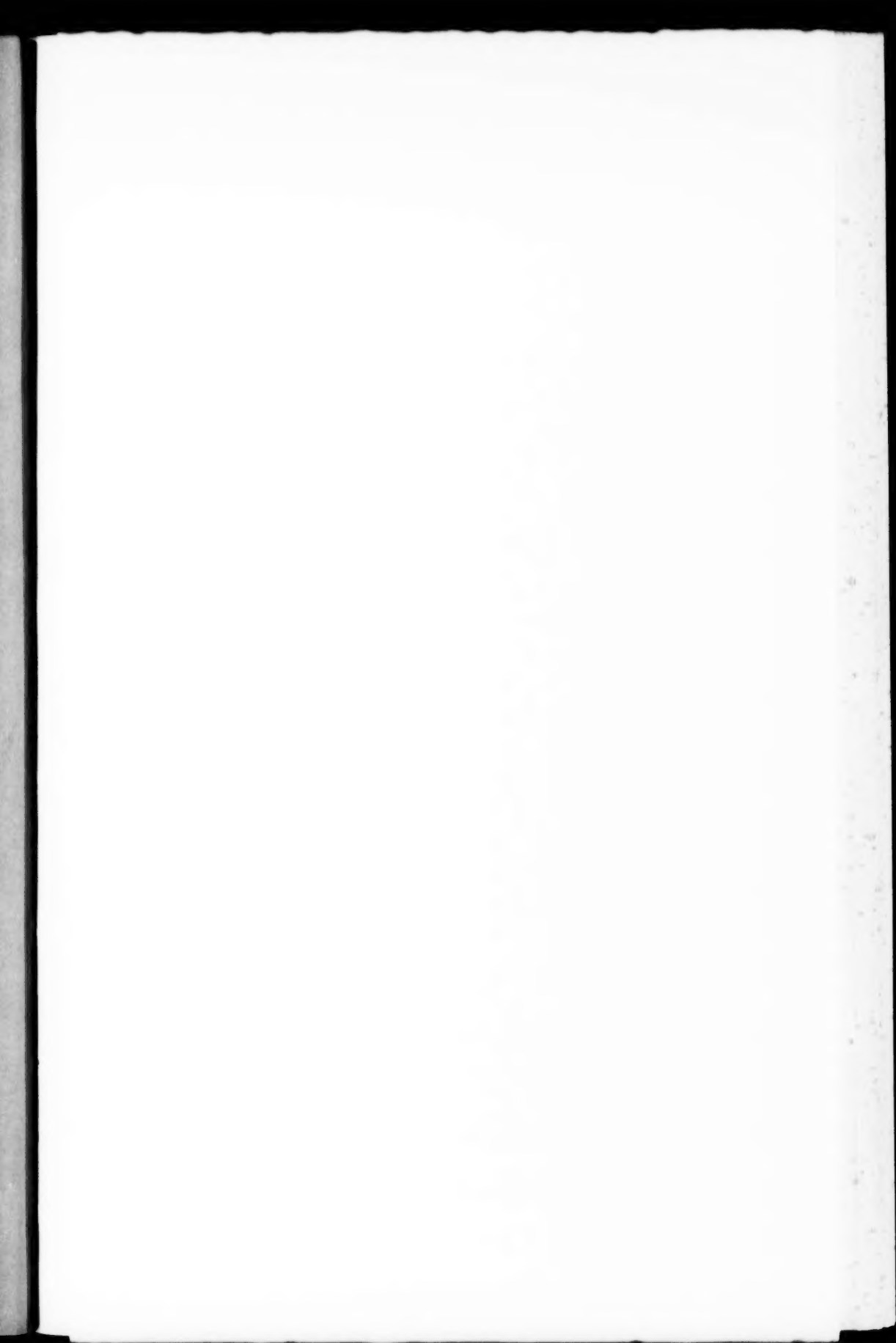
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JAMES BLAIR, COMMISSARY*

By G. MacLaren Brydon

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PART ONE: THE PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE

THE history of the Church in Virginia, over a period of fifty-three years during which he served as the commissary of the bishop of London, is dominated by the life and influence of the one man, James Blair. From one standpoint, as the founder and for fifty years the president of the Royal College of William and Mary, he deserves and has received the profound and undying gratitude of later generations; from another, as regards the welfare of the Church at large throughout the colony, his service of fifty-three years in the office of commissary reveals evidences of so great weakness as to make his career in that capacity a tragic failure.

The period from 1689 to 1714 was marked by a grouping of conditions favorable to the growth and development of the Church and the strengthening of the cause of religion in Virginia such as never had occurred before, and did not occur again. For the first and indeed the only time in the colonial period the English sovereigns showed genuine interest in the care and nurture of religion in America. Queen Mary and Queen Anne, the two daughters of King James Second, had been reared in staunch Protestant surroundings and were devout Christian women, whereas their half-brother, James, the prince of Wales, was a Roman Catholic, and went with his father into exile. It was due to the interest and influence of Queen Mary that Commissary Blair was eventually able to secure the attention of King William and his approval of the plan

*This article is one of two chapters on Commissioner Blair in a forthcoming book, "Virginia's Mother Church," by Dr. Brydon, which is shortly to be published.

to establish a college in Virginia.¹ She showed her further interest by proposing to give a large part of the quit-rents arising from the lands in Virginia to augment the salaries of the clergy in addition to the gifts already made for the establishment and support of the college,² although due to causes beyond her control this later plan failed of realization. Her husband also, King William, on more than one occasion exhibited a genuine interest in the improvement of moral and spiritual conditions in the colony.

Queen Anne, who reigned from 1702 until 1714, is still gratefully remembered throughout America because of her interest in religion, and her gifts to churches and religious causes. Virginia has commemorated her by giving her name to a county, a parish, and five rivers;³ and one of our commonest wild flowers is still Queen Anne's lace.

Another favorable element as far as civil authority was concerned was the character of the men appointed as lieutenant-governors, and resident executives, of the colony throughout the whole period of the commissary's life. In spite of the charges made by Blair in the heat of conflict and recrimination, Sir Edmund Andros and Col. Francis Nicholson, notwithstanding weaknesses of human frailty, rank high among the whole group of American colonial governors. It is not fair to judge either of them solely by *ex-parte* statements made by an antagonist in the heat of passion.⁴ Indeed the whole list of governors who ruled Virginia from 1690 to 1743, Nicholson, Andros, Nott, Spotswood, Drysdale and Gooch, constituted a group of executives who for genuine desire to serve the best interests and true welfare of Virginia would be difficult to surpass in any other colony. Two of them at least, Nicholson and Spotswood, received the honor of election to membership in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in appreciation of their genuine interest in the Church and its extension in America.

As regards ecclesiastical conditions, what has already been said may be repeated: there was at last a bishop in the see of London, who

¹See Commissary Blair's letters, telling of his efforts to secure a charter, in Edgar L. Pennington's *Commissary Blair*, pp. 7-10. (Publication No. 182 of the *Soldier and Servant Series*, published by the Church Missions Publishing Company of Hartford, Connecticut.)

²W. S. Perry, *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church*, Vol. I (Virginia), 1871, p. 13.

³These are Princess Anne County, Saint Anne's Parish in Essex County, Northanna River, Southanna River, Rapidan River (originally The Rapid Ann), Rivanna River and Fluvanna River. This last was the name given in that day to the upper reaches of the James River above the mouth of the Rivanna River. Later generations returned to the use of James as the name of the river throughout its whole length; but the name Fluvanna remains still as the name of the county through which the Rivanna passes to the James.

⁴Much fairer accounts of both these governors are given in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and in various encyclopedias.

had not only manifested interest, but had devised and put into effect definite and very important ways of helping the cause of religion in the colonies through more careful selection and supervision of the clergy who were sent to America. And, as has also been stated, the establishment of the two societies, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, developed and gave voice and action to a mounting interest in missions and Church extension on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

By putting all of these factors together into their due relationship one forms a mental picture of the stars working together in their courses to set forward the growth of the Church. The times produced a sovereign and a governor, a bishop and his commissary, all of whom were desirous of doing their best for the moral and spiritual welfare of Virginia; and a people who remembered the wretched conditions of the past, and desired better organization, the correction of abuses and strengthening of morale. Out of these conditions there should have come a development and growth, a centralizing and strengthening of scattered organization, and an *esprit de corps* of the clergy as a body that, even if they had not resulted in securing a bishop and the proper organization of the Church as a diocese in the province of Canterbury, should have placed it in a position of sufficient strength to have carried it onward by its own momentum, and have brought it safely through the devastating experiences of the post-revolutionary era.

The failure to secure this stronger position was the result of the failure of one man to perceive wherein lay the true strength and power of his position as commissary; and that failure was one of the greatest tragedies that befell the Church, not only in Virginia, but in the other American colonies as well, in the colonial period.⁵ The Church had her day of opportunity,—and lost it.

The available data concerning the birth, education and ecclesiastical affiliation of James Blair are to be found in three very brief items:

- A. The record of him in *Fasti Academiae Marischellanae*.
- B. The record of him in *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*.
- C. The certificate given him by John Wishart, bishop of Edinburgh in the year 1684.

⁵The most easily accessible biographical sketches of Commissary Blair are (1) *The Dictionary of American Biography*, sketch by Dr. E. G. Swem; (2) *Commissary Blair*, by the Rev. Edgar L. Pennington, S. T. D., (3) a sketch by Hunter Dickinson Farish in his Introduction to *The Present State of Virginia and the College*, by Hartwell Blair and Chilton, which was written in 1697, published in 1727, and republished with Mr. Farish's Introduction in 1940. An earlier sketch may be found in Sprague's *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*. All histories of the Episcopal Church give space to him and his work in their sections dealing with the Church in Virginia. All of these must however be revised in the light of a restudy and reinterpretation of records dealing with his life and work.

Fasti Academiae Marischellanae, which is a list of students of Marischal College, (now combined with King's College), in Aberdeen, contains the entry that "Jacobus Blair, son of Mr. Robert Blair, minister of Alvah in the presbytery of Turriff in the synod of Aberdeen," was a pupil at Marischal College, and held the Crombie Scholarship during the two years, 1667-69.⁶

Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, which is a list or succession of ministers in the Church of Scotland after the Reformation, contains the following record:⁷

"CRANSTOUN

"James Blair, born probably in Edinburgh in 1656, educated at Edinburgh University, M. A. 21st July, 1673: Presented by Robert, Viscount Oxfuird; ordained after 19th June and admitted and instituted, 11th July, 1679; deprived in 1681 for not taking the Test. He removed to England and was sent in 1685 by Henry Bishop of London as a missionary to Virginia."

The certificate of John Wishart, bishop of Edinburgh, is as follows:

"To all concerned; These are to certify & declare, that the bearer hereof, Mr. Jas. Blair, Presbyter, did officiate in the Service of the Holy Ministry as Rector in the Parish of Cranston, in my diocese of Edinburgh for several years preceding the year 1682, with exemplary diligence, care and gravity, & did in all the course of his Ministry, behave himself Loyally, Peaceably & Canonically, & that this is a truth I certify by these presents; Written & Subscribed with my own hand, the 19th day of Aug^t, in the year 1684.

JO. EDINBURGH."⁸

From the above date, as projected upon the background of the history of the times in Scotland, the following picture emerges:

James Blair was born, probably in Edinburgh in the year 1656, just as the period of the Commonwealth was drawing to its close. He was the son of the Rev. Robert Blair, a minister of the Church of Scotland. During his childhood his father was the minister of Alvah in the presbytery of Turriff in the synod of Aberdeen, and the young boy was sent to Marischal College in Aberdeen. He held the Crombie,

⁶*Fasti Academiae Marischeallanae*, Vol. II; pp. 196-98.

⁷*Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, ed. Hew Scott, new edition 7 Vols. Edinburgh, (Oliver & Boyd), 1915-1928. The record of James Blair is found in Vol. I: 310.

⁸Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 247. This was the certificate which Blair presented to the convention of the clergy in 1719, and which because of its indefiniteness and lack of vital information made the majority of the clergymen present question whether he had ever received episcopal ordination.

a scholarship in Greek, at the college for two years, while he was between eleven and thirteen years of age. About the age of fourteen, in 1670, he matriculated at the University of Edinburgh, from which he received his master's degree in July 21, 1673, being about seventeen years of age.

There seems to be a gap of about six years until the year 1679, when Robert, viscount of Oxfuird, the owner of the advowson of the parish of Cranston in the diocese of Edinburgh, presented the young man to the bishop of Edinburgh for ordination and admission to the pastoral charge of that parish. James Blair was then, between the dates of June 19, and July 11, 1679, ordained, admitted and instituted into the charge of the parish. There seems to be no reason to doubt that he was ordained by the bishop of Edinburgh, the Rt. Rev. John Wishart. He held the charge of the parish for a little over two years when he fell afoul of a test oath ordained by the Scottish Parliament, which the young minister refused to take, and was consequently "deprived," or ejected from his parish.

It must be clearly understood that although in his later years James Blair declared, and truly, that he had received episcopal ordination, this did not mean that he was ordained as a minister of an Episcopal Church distinct and separate from the (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland, because at that time there was no Episcopal Church in Scotland as an organization different from the Established Church of Scotland. John Wishart, who ordained him, had received his consecration as bishop from bishops of the Anglican Church, but he was consecrated to be a bishop of the Church of Scotland, and not of the Church of England; and the parish of Cranston which James Blair served was a parish of the Church of Scotland.

When Charles Second was restored to the throne in 1660 he carried on his father's error of forcing the Church of Scotland to receive bishops, but he made no effort to compel the use of the Prayer Book in that country. He was able to secure the necessary legislation from the Scottish Parliament, and during his whole reign the unlovely spectacle was shown in Scotland of the Church of Scotland continuing to make use of its own Presbyterian forms of worship and conducting the lesser ecclesiastical affairs according to its own ways; but under the incubus of a bishop of alien ordination sitting in the seat of authority in every diocese, and moderator, as it were *ex officio* in the higher courts of the Church and in the matter of ordinations. The situation was further complicated by the fact that an appreciable number of clergymen and large numbers of laymen in the Church of Scotland preferred the

Anglican forms, so that the counsels of the Church were badly divided.⁹ Whether James Blair was one of the clergy who leaned toward episcopacy cannot be definitely affirmed, although very probably he did so lean. But the actual fact was that he was a minister of the Church of Scotland even though he had been ordained by a bishop. This fact will perhaps explain Commissary Blair's unwillingness to give too much detail about his ordination to the convention of 1719, when Governor Spotswood was thirsting for his blood.

James, duke of York, and heir apparent to the throne, was appointed the commissioner of King Charles in Scotland in 1681, and entered upon that office with the manifest intention of strengthening his position as heir-apparent, and his prospects of succeeding his brother upon the thrones of the two countries. He secured the passage through the Scottish Parliament in 1681 of two acts bearing upon that matter. The first of these assured his right to ascend the throne upon the death of his brother notwithstanding his change of religion to the Roman Catholic faith. The second was a test oath which every public official, ecclesiastical or lay, was required to take, in which the signer declared his acceptance of the Protestant faith as stated in the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, and at the same time acknowledged the king to be supreme in all matters both in church and state.¹⁰

The purpose of this test oath was to place in his hands, when he became king, the legal authority to force the Roman Catholic Church back into a position of power and influence; but the absurdity of its provisions, which made the test a rather gruesome laughing-stock in many quarters, was that it placed the king's authority decidedly above that of Almighty God in matters of faith and ecclesiastical government.¹¹

⁹See an account of the confused situation arising from the imposition of Anglican bishops upon a Presbyterian Church in Carwithen's *History of the Church of England*, II: 330-340; or in any history of the Church of Scotland.

¹⁰Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, (Cambridge Historical Series), Vol. II: 418-19; Andrew Lang, *History of Scotland*, 4th ed. III: 367; William Law, *Politics and Religion in Scotland*, II: 295, *et seq.* The Act itself, creating the Test Oath, is printed in *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, Record Edition*, ed. Thomas Thomson, Vol. VIII: 243-45.

¹¹One of those who suffered because of refusal to take the Test was Archibald, earl of Argyle, who was arrested, tried on a charge of treason, convicted and sentenced to death; but escaped only to suffer that penalty after his participation in Monmouth's Rebellion.

In connection with that trial for refusing the Test the story was spread widely throughout Scotland of the action of the boys of George Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh who "finding that the dog which kept the yards of that Hospital had a public charge and office, they ordained him to take the Test, and offered him the paper; but he, loving a bone rather than it, absolutely refused it. Then they rubbed it over with butter (which they called an explication of the Test in imitation of Argyle), and he licked off the butter but did spit out the paper, for which they held a jury on him, and in derision of the sentence against Argyle, they found the dog guilty of treason, and actually hanged him." See *Memoir of George Heriot*, by William Steven, D. D., Edinburgh, 1845, p. 102. Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, II: 418-19 and footnote.

Many officials, both civil and ecclesiastical, declined to take the oath and were consequently removed from their offices. Among the ministers who refused to take it were about eighty who were classed as being episcopally-minded.¹²

James Blair was one of the clergymen who refused to take the oath, and in due time found himself officially deprived of his parish. So it was that the young minister, being out of a job, and seeing little prospect of another cure in his native land, took the road which, according to Dr. Samuel Johnson, was "the most beautiful view that ever appeared to the eyes of a Scotchman,"—the road to London. Arriving in that city he secured a position in secular life, as a clerk in the office of the master of the rolls.¹³ He remained in London for three years.

Judging by the strong influence which Commissary Blair exerted in later years in political and governmental circles in England, as shown by his success in securing the recall of three governors, and his own reinstatement twice as a member of the Council of State of Virginia after the members of that body had twice suspended him, it would seem that he used these three years in London to very great and lasting advantage in getting acquainted with and winning the firm friendship of people of importance in public life. His appointment to the particular job which opened to him when he came to London served in a very remarkable way to increase his usefulness in later years.

One may wonder why it was that a man of such ability as he was later shown to possess, and with such ability to make friends, should have been compelled to take secular employment instead of an ecclesiastical benefice. There seems to be no answer to that question; unless it was that being a minister of the Church of Scotland, even though ordained by a bishop in the Anglican line, he was ineligible to hold a clerical position in the Church of England.¹⁴ Instead of questioning, however, one would prefer to think of him as being trained in a providential way for the field he was to occupy in due time.

Certain it is also that during these years he was brought to the attention of the bishop of London and through that acquaintance, and the impression formed by the bishop of his character and ability, came

¹²It must be clearly understood that these episcopally minded clergymen were not Episcopal clergy as belonging to an ecclesiastical organization separate from the Church of Scotland. They were all ministers of parishes within the Church of Scotland.

¹³The previous writers of sketches of James Blair's life have been in error in stating that Blair "took orders in the Church of England." The only ordination which he ever received was that by the bishop of Edinburgh whereby he became a minister of the Church of Scotland.

¹⁴Having been ordained however by a bishop there was nothing to prevent the bishop of London from licensing him to serve in Virginia even though he could not hold preferment in England.

the offer and the opportunity to go to Virginia with the bishop's license to hold a parish in that colony. So he came in 1685 to the land of his great and abiding success,—and his great failure.

The living to which he was called upon his arrival in Virginia was the rectorship of the remote parish of Varina, or Henrico, which covered the whole territory of the widely extended and sparsely populated frontier county of Henrico. Although the power of the Indians in the James River valley above the falls, had been seriously broken at the time of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, that territory, west of the present city of Richmond, was still considered unsafe for settlement because of its proximity to undisputed Indian hunting grounds and the Indian thoroughfare of the Iroquois Trail.¹⁵ It was the territory in which, fifteen years later, the Huguenots were given land that they might serve as a barrier against Indian encroachment.¹⁶

His parish consisted of the usual fringe of plantations and smaller farms lying on or adjacent to the James River shore on both sides. The main church building in the parish, if not the only one at that time, was situated at Varina on the north shore of the river, where was located also the county courthouse and the jail. His glebe farm and residence were in close proximity to the church. As the river was the main highway, the church was near the river bank for the convenience of those who came to church by boat.

Here it was that Blair came into contact at first hand with the rawness of frontier life, and saw the problems and difficulties under which the Church labored; and here he dreamed his dreams of the best way to strengthen and coordinate the spiritual and educational needs of the colony. While here he married, in 1687, Sarah, the daughter of Colonel Benjamin Harrison, of Wakefield in Surry County. This connection threw him into intimate contact with the group of influential families around Jamestown, and served to give him a clearer understanding of the colony and its needs from the point of view of the group of families which even then were becoming prominent in Virginia's political and governmental life. Although he had been in the colony for four

¹⁵This Trail, which in reality extended from New York to the Carolinas and Georgia came through Virginia along the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge Mountains. After the country was well settled and the Indian menace removed this Trail developed into an important highway for freight hauled by wagons between Baltimore, Piedmont Virginia, Western North Carolina and the Southwest. In the northern part of Virginia this was called the Carolina Road. The present Virginia Highway No. 15 running from the Potomac River near Leesburg to the North Carolina line some miles east of South Boston, follows the general line of that old Indian trail. See Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, Vol. I: p. 453, *et seq.*

¹⁶For an account of the Huguenot Parish of King William, see *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XLII, pp. 325-35.

years only when the bishop of London announced his appointment as commissary it would have been hard to find a man better fitted for that position both by experience of frontier conditions and contacts and connections with people of influence at the seats of government in Jamestown and London.

* * * * *

Blair's commission as commissary was issued by the bishop of London on December 15, 1689, and was evidently brought by Col. Francis Nicholson when he came to Virginia as the new lieutenant-governor in the spring of 1690.¹⁷ This commission was as follows:¹⁸

HENRY, by Divine permission Bishop of London, to all the faithful in Christ to whom this present Writing may come. Greeting eternal in the Lord.

Know ye that we, the Bishop of London aforesaid, to whom every ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and in every way, under Virginia situated in America, by Royal Constitutions is generally recognized to pertain, (except the power of granting licenses for celebrating marriages, probating wills of deceased persons and conferring benefices), have named, made and constituted, and by these presents do name, make and constitute, James Blaire, Clerk, our Commissary in and throughout all Virginia aforesaid, trusting very greatly his learning, probity and industry, with all and every power of carrying out and per-

¹⁷Col. Nicholson presented his own credentials to the Council and took the oath of office as lieutenant-governor on June 3, 1690, and on the following day he presented the commission of James Blair as commissary. "The Lieutenant Governor was requested to return to his Lordship the humble thanks of this Board for his pious care in this affair, and the reposing the trust in one so well deserving thereof as the said Mr. Blair is." McIlwaine, *Executive Journals of the Council*, I: 114, 116.

¹⁸Public Records Office, London, C. O. 5; 1305. There is a copy in the Library of Congress. The original is as follows:

The Bishop of London's Commission to Mr. Blair.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos hoc presens Scriptum pervenerit Henricus permissione Divina Londinen Ep-us Salutem in Domino sempiternam.

SCIATIS Quod nos Episcopus London predcus, ad quem omnis et omni moda jurisdictio Ecclesiastia infra Virginiam in America Sitam (excepta facultate licentias concedendi pro matrimoniis celebrandis, probandi testamenta defunctorum, et conferendi beneficia) Regiis (sic) Constitutionibus notorié dignoscitur pertinere Jacobum Blaire Clericum plurimum ejus eruditiooni (sic) probitati et industriae confidentes nominavimus fecimus, et constituimus, et per presentes, nominamus facimus, et constituimus Commissarium n'rm in et per totam Virginiam predictam, cum potestate omnia et Singula exequendi (sic) et agendi (exceptis pre exceptis) quae ad Officium Commissarii nostri predicti, de jure vel consuetudine juxta leges et Canones et Constitutiones in Ecclesia Anglicana edit (sic; editas?) et observatas spectant et pretinent (sic) vel spectare et pertinere debent cum facultate insuper unum vel plures Clericum vel Clericos Surrogatum vel Sorrogatos suo loco Substituende (sic)

In Quorum premissorum omnium et Singulorum fidem et Testimonium Sigillum nostrum Epale presentibus apponi fecimus Dat Decimo quinto die mensis Decembris anno Dni 1689 Et nostrae Translationis anno Decimo quarto.

H. London

forming, (previous exceptions excepted), whatever pertains and belongs, or ought to pertain and belong, to the office of our Commissary aforesaid, by law or custom according to the laws, canons and constitutions followed and observed in the Church of England; With power moreover to set one or more clerk or clerks as substitute or substitutes in his place.

In confidence and in testimony of all and singular of which premises we have caused our Episcopal Seal to be placed upon these presents.

Given on the fifteenth day of the month of December in the year of our Lord, 1689, and in the twenty-fourth year of our Translation.

H. LONDON.

Immediately upon the receipt of his commission the new commissary seems to have called a convention of the clergy of the colony. One must infer that this was done after consultation with Governor Nicholson, and quite probably the two worked together in formulating the plan of action which was adopted at that convention. Certainly Col. Nicholson showed later that he approved it. This convention was held in Jamestown on July 23, 1690, and in its possibilities was the most momentous ecclesiastical meeting that was ever held in Virginia during the colonial period. There is, as far as is known, no record of the clergy who attended, nor any minutes of their meetings. Besides an address to the bishop of London they took action in two important matters only. One was a resolution of appeal for help in the establishment of a college in Virginia. The other was the approval of a plan proposed by the commissary to begin the reform of abuses in the Church in Virginia by the organization of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the establishment of a series of ecclesiastical courts for the trial of both clerical and lay offenders against the moral law.

It would seem quite evident that both Blair and the other clergy present laid a greater emphasis upon the wording of the commissary's commission than perhaps the bishop intended. They understood the commission to declare that all ecclesiastical jurisdiction of every kind in Virginia, except certain listed privileges, belonged to the bishop of London, and that he was appointing James Blair as his commissary with the right to exercise every power of every kind which a commissary could exercise under the laws, canons and constitutions of the Church of England. If that were true the commissary could do everything in Virginia that a bishop of London could do in his diocese except ordain and confirm.

If such an interpretation could have stood and have been generally accepted, Blair, if he so desired, could have assumed a position of leader-

ship and authority in the Church in Virginia that would have soon united it into a strong and vigorous organization, and would have rallied both clergy and laity around himself. If this had been done there would seem to be no question but that in a few years a diocese would necessarily have been established and a bishop sent to Virginia.

It is typical of the man, however, as he faced the manifold problems of the Church in the colony, and its totally unorganized state, that he chose first of all to make use of the mailed fist and the threat of courts for the trial and punishment of both clerical and lay sinners, and also of dissenters. Unquestionably there was much laxity of life and disregard of moral standards. These would seem to be inevitable in that as in every other new and raw land. But what the Church of Virginia needed above everything else was a savior rather than a judge, an organizer who could lead and influence through friendship and affection rather than an autocrat who could only drive.

The proclamation issued by Commissary Blair immediately after the close of the convention of clergy is as follows:¹⁹

Order of the Meeting of the Clergy touching the Ecclesiastical
Jurisdiction.

At a General Meeting of the Clergy of Virginia held for the
R. Rev^d Father in God Henry Lord B^p of London
at James City Jul. 23 1690.

An Order for the more convenient Execution of Ecclesiastical
disciplin.

Whereas the Right Rev^d Father in God Henry Lord B^p of London, taking into his consideration the great contempt of Religion and dissoluteness of life & manners which are too visible, within this Colony of Virginia to the dishonour of God, reproach of the Church & the Scandal of all good men, And being willing & desirous as far as lyes within his power to make use of his Episcopal Authority for remedy and redress of the same, has commanded the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be impartially executed in order to a speedy Reformation of the lives of both Clergy and Laity within this Colony; and for this end has by a publick instrument under his hand and Episcopal Seal nominated and appointed me James Blair his Commissary within the Dominion and Colony forsd, as the sd Instrument bearing date the 15th day of Dec^r in the year of our Lord 1689 doth more largely contain and express: Now know ye y^t I the sd James Blair by virtue of the forsd Commission do in the name of the Right Rev^d Father in God Henry Lord Bishop of Lon-

¹⁹Public Records Office, London. C. O. 5; 1305. There is a copy in the Library of Congress.

don and with the Advice of the Clergy of this Colony at their General Meeting forsd, Certify to all persons Concerned y^t I intend to revive and put in execution the Ecclesiastical laws against all cursers Swearers & blasphemers, all whoremongers fornicators and Adulterers, all drunkards ranters and profaners of the Lords day and Contemners of the Sacraments, and ag^t all other Scandalous persons, whether of the Clergy or Laity within this dominion and Colony of Virginia. And for the more convenient execution of the sd design, according to another part of the power and authority comitted to me by an express Article in the forsd Commission for nominating of Substitutes in the several precincts of the sd Colony, to the end y^t due Information may be had of the sev^l Scandals, and y^t more convenient proofs may be brought, and y^t the great burden of the work may be lightened by being divided among several persons with the consent and advice of the Clergy at their General Meeting I have nominated and appointed, like as by these prnts I do nominat and appoint the persons following Ministers of the gospel in the several precincts hereafter mentioned my Substitutes and Surrogats viz. the Rev^d M^r Patrick Smith my Substitute & Surrogat in and thorough all that part of this Colony lying and being on the South side of James River; as also the Rev^d M^r Samuel Eburne my Substitute and Surrogat in and thorough all that part of this Colony lying and being betwixt James River on the Southside and the Rivers of York and Matapony on the North; As also the Rev^d M^r Dewel Pead my Substitute and Surrogat in and thorough all that part of this Colony lying & being betwixt the River of York and Matapony on the South, and the River of Rappahanock on the North; as also the Rev^d M^r John Farnifold my Substitute and Surrogat in and thorough all that part of this Colony lying and being betwixt the Rivers of Rappahanock on the South and Potomock on the North. And the Counties of Accomack and North Hamptoun being as yet unprovided of a sufficient number of Ministers to constitut a district meeting, it is therefore thought fit for the present to adjoyn y^m to James City Precinct: hereby authorising & requiring the sd Substitutes and Surrogats wth advice and consent of the Clergy in their several precincts to exercise the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the bounds and limits aforesd And for this end with the consent and advice of the Clergy at the General Meeting aforesd I do require the sd Substitutes assisted wth the Minrs of their several precincts or the Major part of them to hold a Meeting twice a year at the times and places hereafter mentioned viz on the first wednesday of April and the first wednesday of August at Warricks Creek Church for the Substitute & remaining Clergy on the Southside of James River, and on the second wednesday in April and the second wednesday of August at James City Church for the Substitute & remaining Clergy between James River and the

Rivers of York and Matapony. And on the third wedsenday in April and the third wedsenday in August at Petso Church in the County of Gloucester for the Substitute & remaining Clergy between the Rivers of York and Matapony on the South and the River of Rappahanock on the north: and on the 4th wedsenday in April and the 4th wedsenday in August at Nomony church in Cople Parish for the Substitite and remaining Clergy between the Rivers of Rappahanock on the South & Potomock on the North. Appointing likewise wth the advice & consent of the Clergy at their General meeting forsd y^t at all and every such Ecclesiastical meeting Divin Service be devoutly read, and a Sermon preached explaining some of the articles of our holy faith, or of the main duties of a Christian life, or against the prevailing Sins of the time and place.

Further it is hereby required y^t at these meetings the Substitute of each precinct do in the presence of the rest of the Clergy his Assistants administer to each Church Warden in the sd precinct the Churchwardens oath in manner and form as by the canons for that purpose is provided; and in case any person elected to this office shall refractorily refuse to take the same, against him or y^m to proceed according to the methods of Ecclesiastical disciplin. Moreover at such times the sd churchwardens are to be informed y^t it is their duty to make true presentment of all such Scandals and enormities as shall be comitted within their jurisdiction, which presentments are by the sd Churchwardens to be preferred to the Substitute at these meetings. And in case any matter whither of misdemeanour or otherwise notified in the presentments of the sd Churchwardens shall upon trial and examination be found too difficult and intricat for the sd meeting to adjudge and determin, it is hereby appointed & required y^t all such cases be referred to the General meeting, which by the advice and consent of the Clergy of this Colony; is hereby appointed to be annually held at James City on the last wedsenday in Sept^r beginning in the year of our Lord 1691. Provided always y^t liberty be reserved to the Right Rev^d Father in God the Lord Bishop of London or his Comissary for the time being, to name other Substitutes or to make other alterations from time to time in the premisses, as the occasions of the church shall require.

JAMES BLAIR *Comiss.*

In the lack of definite information it must be assumed that a copy of this proclamation was sent to the minister and vestry of every parish, and to the civil officials of every county. Certainly it would seem so in view of the fact that it was intended to be an official pronouncement of the clergy of the colony meeting for the first time in the history of the colony as a group representing the Church under the authority of a commissary appointed by the bishop of London. This opinion is further strengthened by the fact that on the day following the meeting

of the clergy and the issuance of the proclamation, the Council of State requested the lieutenant-governor, Colonel Nicholson, to issue a proclamation concerning the enforcement of the very laws which Blair in his proclamation proposed to take over into the charge of the courts which he intended to establish.²⁰

Four months later, on December 2, 1690, Governor Nicholson issued a proclamation addressed to the justices of the peace and all civil and military officers of every county urging them to take especial care that all laws, both penal and other, be put into effectual execution, and directing the justices of the peace to investigate and see how the vestries of the parishes are performing their duties.²¹

On the same day Governor Nicholson wrote a circular letter to the sheriffs of all the counties, in which he said:

I have spoke with y^e Reverend M^r James Blair who is appointed by ye Reverend Father in God Henry, Lord Bishop of London Commissary of this their Maj^{ties} territory and Dominion of Virg^a who intendeth God willing in ye Spring to make a Gen^l Visitation, and hope that your county will be found in such order that he will have noe Reason to punish any; and to that end I have herein sent you their Mat^{ties} Letter to ye R^t Reverend Father in God y^e Bishop of London, and do order that you Cause the Same to be publisht at every other Court, and once in two months in each Church in your County, that all people encouraged from so good Example may demean themselves accordingly.²²

No copy of this letter from the king and queen to the bishop of London has ever been discovered in any Virginia court record or parish vestry-book, as far as is known. Presumably it was a letter authorizing the bishop of London to appoint a commissary in Virginia, and defining the authority which the bishop might exercise through a commissary in territory outside his own diocese. Without it we are at a loss to understand how Blair found in his commission the authority to take such steps as he proposed to take. The commission itself was couched in the most general terms, and it would seem that he interpreted it to mean that he was practically given *carte blanche* to take such action as he should deem best in the whole field of diocesan administration and discipline. Being the man he was Blair showed his belief in the power of the sword as the most essential instrument of government.

²⁰McIlwaine, *Executive Journals of the Council*, I: 120 July 24, 1690.

²¹*Ibid.*, I: 147-48.

²²*Ibid.*, I: 154. Along with other letters and proclamations this was sent to England, and appears in Public Records Office, London; C. O. 5; 1306. There is a copy in the Library of Congress.

As a brief summary of his proclamation, it may be said that the new commissary, with the approval of the clergy of the colony, announced that he intended "to revive and put in execution the ecclesiastical laws against all cursers, swearers, and blasphemers; all whoremongers, fornicators and adulterers; all drunkards, ranters, profaners of the Lord's Day and contemnners of the Sacraments; and all other scandalous persons whether of the clergy or the laity within this Colony and Dominion of Virginia." For the more convenient execution of the said design he proposed to divide the colony into four districts, which he described, and appointed a minister resident in each district as his surrogate or assistant, with orders to hold a court in his district twice a year.

This was indeed a startling and a most revolutionary plan. It was an attempt to introduce into Virginia the ecclesiastical courts which had proven such a bitter curse to the religious life of England during the earlier reigns; the very method which the people of Virginia had hitherto kept out of its life. He proposed to supersede the civil courts of the counties which had jurisdiction in the trial of offenders against the moral law by courts in districts of his own creation before judges of his own appointment, and answerable solely to himself; he announced that in addition to the trial of such offences he purposed to bring to trial "all ranters, and profaners of the Lord's Day and contemnners of the Sacraments."²³ This meant clearly that he proposed to undertake vigorously the arrest, trial, and punishment of dissenters of the "enthusiastic" types. He says nothing about Presbyterians or Independents, but Quakers and Ranters were definitely to feel the heavy hand of legal prosecution for professing their own distinctive beliefs.

It seems incredible that Commissary Blair, after having lived in Virginia for nearly five years, and presumably having perceived something of the life and ideals of the people through his own contacts and his intercourse with the particular group of families into which he had married, should have proposed such a reactionary plan; and perhaps more incredible still that the governor, with the advice of the council of state should have supported it. England had in that year adopted the Toleration Act which finally put a stop to all legal persecution of dissenters. Less than three years previously Virginia had received with acclaim the proclamation of James II, "for Liberty of Conscience," and

²³The Ranters were followers of a pantheistic and antinomian movement which originated during the Commonwealth period in England, and continued in existence for a number of years after the Restoration. Their tenets were considered blasphemous and immoral by Christians holding the orthodox faith. The "contemnners of the Sacraments" were the Quakers, who rejected both the historic sacraments of baptism and the Holy Communion.

had shown the sincerity of its attitude by electing a Roman Catholic to the House of Burgesses and taking steps to repeal the Act prohibiting the unlawful assembly of Quakers. And Blair, with the approval of the clergy of the colony, solemnly proposed to go directly in the face of the expressed attitude of both England and Virginia by introducing ecclesiastical courts to try and punish dissenters!

It was the House of Burgesses, the bulwark of the distinctive ideals and institutions of Virginia from the beginning, which rose in defence of the people of the colony and indeed saved the Church itself from the ill-advised action of its own leaders. Without any outburst of surprise or anger, as far as is now known; without a single written word of rebuke or antagonism; without indeed any mention of the proposed plan at all, the matter died. Never has the power of silence been more effectively invoked than when the House of Burgesses wrapped Commissary Blair's proclamation within its impenetrable folds. There is not a word either pro or con concerning it in the records of the General Assembly of Virginia. No copy of the proclamation or of the letter of the king and queen to the bishop of London has ever appeared in any parish or county record. No student or writer upon the history of the Episcopal Church has ever hitherto known of their existence. It is only due to the fact that a copy of the proclamation was sent to the bishop of London, and filed with a copy of the bishop's commission to Blair that these two documents have turned up in the Public Records Office in London through the sending of copies to the Library of Congress.

The way in which we have learned of the attitude of the House of Burgesses in this matter is through the light which Commissary Blair's proclamation throws upon a hitherto inexplicable statement in the Journal of the House of Burgesses. This occurred on May 20, 1691, just ten months after the date of the proclamation; the statement is as follows:

"A Messenger from the Council . . . acquainted the House from the Rt. Honorable the Lt. Governor that Mr. Eburne, minister, who lately issued a precept for Ralph Flowers, clerk of York Parish to answer before him several allegations complaints and misdemeanours, and Mr. Sclater, minister, who procured the same, had before his Honor acknowledged their errors, and that his Honor had sent to the House to know if they desired any further proceedings against them, to which the House returned answer that being well satisfied of his Honor's care in that affaire they humbly submitted to his prudence."²⁴

²⁴McIlwaine, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia*, Vol. II, (1659-1695), pp. 366-67. May 20, 1691.

This record, with its unusual, to say the least, humility on the part of fiery Governor Nicholson glows with a bright light when one remembers that Mr. Eburne was the surrogate appointed by the commissary to hold courts in the James City district for the trial of misdemeanants and heretics, and Mr. Eburne minister of Bruton Parish and his neighbor, Mr. Sclater minister of Charles Parish in York County, had gone ahead to organize the court and had issued a summons to Ralph Flowers, clerk, of York Parish to answer certain allegations and complaints. The report of the lieutenant-governor that he had called these gentlemen before him and laid down the law to them, and his mild inquiry if the House of Burgesses desired him to proceed to further action against these parsons is most illuminating. Then the curtain drops, and the lights go out.

Commissary Blair had received a rebuke that affected his whole later life and work. That it did not totally crush him and destroy entirely his usefulness is testimony both to the integrity of the man and the estimation in which he was held, and also to the great desire of the people of Virginia to secure the things in which they desired his leadership: the effort to secure a college, and the better oversight of the clergy.

* * * * *

As has elsewhere been stated,²⁵ the duties of the commissary had to do entirely with the clergy of the colony of Virginia as individuals. He received no authority to act as ordinary in performing such duties, to which fees were attached, as were performed by bishops of dioceses in England; these were already being performed by the governor. Nor did he have in any way whatsoever authority to interfere in a contest between minister and vestry, nor in any case in which property rights were concerned; nor could he hold a trial or investigation of the character or conduct of a layman. The people of Virginia have always had long memories; and they of the turn of the eighteenth century, remembering the dreadful trials and punishment of dissenters in the Star-chamber and other ecclesiastical courts of the earlier Stuarts, were fully determined that no vestige of ecclesiastical court should be set up in Virginia. Indeed one of the great difficulties which the commissary met throughout his years of service when investigating charges of misconduct of clergymen was the fear quite clearly expressed of his attempting to establish an ecclesiastical court.²⁶

²⁵Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate in America*, is very clear in its statement of the authority given to the bishop of London as regards the Church in the American colonies.

²⁶Blair complained upon several occasions that he found himself unable to persuade witnesses to give evidence against their ministers through fear of this kind.

He occupied an anomalous position at best as being simply the personal representative of a bishop in a territory over which that bishop had no ecclesiastical authority. The right of the bishop of London to send commissaries to the American colonies was simply an extension granted by the king of authority already placed by the sovereign in the hands of the bishop of London to select and to license clergymen to serve in the Anglican parishes in the American colonies; that inasmuch as these clergymen were outside any diocese they should be considered as being under his pastoral care in somewhat the same way as were clergymen serving as chaplains of ships flying the British flag. But it must be clearly noted that every ship under the British flag was considered to be English territory and under the authority of the English Parliament; whereas clergymen holding parishes in Virginia must necessarily serve under the laws of the General Assembly of Virginia. The authority of the commissary therefore was solely that of a personal representative of the bishop, to advise with the clergy whom that bishop had licensed, to admonish the erring, to help and encourage them in their personal and parochial problems, to make investigation of charges of misconduct, and when such charges were fully proven, to suspend the license given by the bishop of London to the offending clergyman to hold a parish in the colony.²⁷ That was the only penalty of any kind he could inflict; and he quickly realized that he could not impose such a penalty except in cases where the disapproval of the minister's conduct was so strong and widespread that there was a general desire for his removal. This fact, as well as the great difficulty of filling vacant parishes, was one of the reasons why, as he reported to the bishop of London in 1724, he had not suspended more than two clergymen from their parishes in the preceding thirty-four years.²⁸ He needed also the backing of the governor and council of state in the enforcement of such discipline. This was illustrated by the case of one Rev. Joseph Holt, the minister of Stratton-Major Parish from 1696 to 1700, whose license was suspended by the commissary after conviction of "several misbehaviours." Holt had then gone to Maryland where he officiated for some years in spite of having lost his license. In 1705 St. Anne's Parish in Essex County accepted him as their minister and presented him to the governor for induction. The governor after consulting the council referred the matter to the attorney-general of the colony who rendered

²⁷See Blair's letter of May 13, 1724, to Edmund Gibson, the newly appointed bishop of London, in which he states that as soon as he shall receive from the new bishop a renewal of his commission as commissary he proposed to hold an investigation of the conduct of two clergymen who had been accused of scandalous misbehavior, and if the charges were proven he proposed "to proceed to suspension of their license, which is only during the bishop's pleasure." Perry, *op. cit.*, 252-53.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 252-53.

his opinion that when a minister was under suspension, the request of a parish did not serve to remove the sentence of suspension.²⁹

In spite however of the lack of legal authority the office of commissary was one of very great influence, and could be made a power for good. The commissary being estopped from using the power of the sword was necessarily confined in his labors to the sphere of personal friendliness and helpfulness to the clergy, as the only one in which he could develop a worthwhile field of work. To one who had the vision to grasp it this field opened an opportunity of leadership in correction of abuses and improvement of conditions whose bounds were determined only by his own innate power and ability to lead others. It was indeed in this field of leadership that the two greatest of all the commissaries, Bray and Blair, did their greatest and most far-reaching work; Bray in his organization of traveling libraries, and Church promotion and missionary societies, and Blair in the establishment of his college.

Blair made a fresh start upon his work as commissary notwithstanding the rebuke he had received for his ill-advised effort to establish courts. The two needs that had impressed him as being of the greatest and most pressing importance were the increase and stabilizing of the salaries of the incumbent ministers and a college for the education of Virginian youth and for the training of native sons of the colony for the ministry of the Church. Both of these matters were presented to the convention for discussion, and resulted in two petitions, one covering each of these subjects, which the convention adopted and placed in the hands of the commissary to present to the General Assembly. He presented them to that body in April, 1691,³⁰ and in the end had the happiness of seeing each petition result in a movement that attained real and abiding success.

The movement to establish a college was taken up first, and aroused instant and widespread interest and enthusiasm throughout the colony. The first effort to organize a college, made in the earliest days of settlement, had died because a distrustful king abolished the charter of the company before the colony had recovered from the effects of the devastating Indian massacre of 1622. The second effort failed because an ungrateful king was more eager to strengthen his position upon a shaky throne by rewarding the courtiers around him with slices of Virginian territory than he was interested in the spiritual or educational needs of a colony of foolishly loyal people three thousand miles away.

²⁹McIlwaine, *Executive Journals of the Council*, III: 72-73 under date of February 27, 1705/06, and March 28, 1706. This Joseph Holt was later a missionary of the S. P. G. to Barbadoes. See *Digest of S. P. G. Records*, pp. 199, 816, 882. See also Goodwin, *Colonial Church in Virginia*, p. 279.

³⁰McIlwaine, *Journals House of Burgesses*, 1659/60-93: 343-44.

The third effort was destined to meet a happier fate. Commissary Blair's petition was quickly and heartily approved by the assembly and the governor, and plans were immediately adopted for advertising the project widely throughout the colony. Subscription lists were opened in every county to enable the people to pledge their gifts for the establishment of the college.³¹ Having done this, and secured a goodly amount in pledges, and having shown thereby the wide and general interest throughout Virginia in the plan, the next and necessary step was to send an agent to England in order to arouse interest there, and to secure a charter, and grant of continuing income for its support. James Blair was obviously the best man to send, and the assembly appointed him its agent. He sailed at once, carrying with him the hope of all the future of Virginia in his plans and visions of an institution of learning, and supported by the good wishes of the many who realized the colony's need.³²

The friends he had already made while living in London proved of inestimable help, and eventually he was presented to the queen, and won her unqualified approval. She secured the attention of the king, and her own genuine interest in the matter carried the day in spite of opposition in high quarters. Eventually, all barriers having been safely passed, the happy commissary returned to Jamestown with the charter of the Royal College of William and Mary in his possession, and provision for an assured and continuing income from the public funds.³³ The charter was granted on February 8, 1692/93.

³¹McIlwaine, *Journals House of Burgesses, 1659/60-93*; 347-373, *passim* as shown in the index.

³²The financial gifts made by the king to the college, as reported by Blair in 1697, were "near two thousand pounds in ready cash out of the Bank of Quit-Rents" to apply upon the erection of the college building:

"Towards the Endowment the king gave the neat (i. e. net) produce of the Penny per Pound in Virginia and Maryland, worth £200 per annum; and the Surgeon General's place, worth about 50£ per annum; and the choice of 10,000 acres of land in Pamunkey Neck and 10,000 more on the south side of Blackwater Swamp. The General Assembly also gave the college a duty on Skins and Furs worth better than £100 a year." (The "Penny per Pound" was a tax imposed upon the shipment of tobacco in intercolonial traffic.)

The total amount pledged by people in Virginia for the college when subscriptions were first received was more than £2,500. But Blair said that on account of the attitude of Governor Andros no further pledges were made and not more than £500 of the amounts previously pledged could be collected. See Hartwell, Blair and Chilton's *Present State of Virginia and the College*, pp. 69-70. Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

³³G. G. Perry, *History of the Church of England*, p. 517. "Robert Boyle, a son of Lord Cork, who had become distinguished for his earnestness in promoting physical science and religious knowledge. By his agency the first Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was constituted, over which Mr. Boyle presided for twenty-eight years. This Society supported John Eliot in his philanthropic work and supplied other agents to assist him. . . . He also procured the translation of the New Testament into the Malayan language, and distributed many copies among the Malays. Another translation into the Turkish language was made by his means, and attempts were made to spread Christianity through the Levant." See further account of him in the several encyclopedias.

Dr. Blair had found indeed another and quite unexpected opportunity in England for widening and increasing the usefulness of the new college. The Honorable Robert Boyle, a younger son of the earl of Cork, and a man well-known through a long and useful life for his great interest in philanthropy and missions,³⁴ had recently died, and under the provisions of his will his estate was to be established as a permanent trust fund for the purpose of Christianizing the native American Indians.³⁵ While a small amount was directed to be expended annually in Massachusetts, (and was paid to Harvard College for that purpose), the great bulk of the annual income was directed to be spent in Virginia. Upon learning of this bequest Blair had perhaps little difficulty in securing it for the purpose of erecting the necessary building, and maintaining an Indian School at the college, for the education and Christianizing of Indian youth. By means of this bequest Brafferton Hall was erected as one of the buildings of the college, and the school for Indian lads continued until the American Revolution finally ended all missionary appropriations to the revolted colonies, when the income of the Boyle bequest was transferred to Indian work in colonies that remained loyal to the British crown.³⁶

Blair brought with him from England, in addition to the charter, a set of plans for the main building of the college as a gift of the aged architect, Sir Christopher Wren. He brought also a master for the proposed grammar school which it would be necessary to start as the first step in the organization of the college.³⁷ The General Assembly

³⁴The fullest account of the provisions of Robert Boyle's will is to be found in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*, Query XV. See also Pennington, *op. cit.*, p. 12; and Perry, *Virginia Volume*, p. 123.

³⁵It is interesting to learn that Thomas Jefferson, as governor of Virginia in 1779-81, put into effect a definite plan for the reorganization of the College of William and Mary whereby he abolished the professorships of theological studies and put secular studies in their place. He proposed to close the Indian School and use the income of the Boyle Fund to send "missionaries" to live among the various Indian tribes to Christianize them by living among them, and at the same time to put into written form their languages, legends, traditions and customs. Having accomplished this in one tribe the "missionary" would go to another. The refusal of the Boyle Trustees to continue any appropriation to the college after the Revolution automatically closed the Indian School and prevented Mr. Jefferson from carrying out his proposed diversion of missionary funds. See his *Notes on Virginia*, Query XV.

³⁶This schoolmaster was the Rev. Mungo Inglis. Strong antagonism arose between him and President Blair, and Inglis eventually resigned and left the college. See his letter to Governor Nicholson in 1705: in Perry, *Virginia Volume*, pp. 139-40.

³⁷The board of incorporators as appointed by the Assembly in 1691 to receive the charter when granted, consisted of the governor or lieutenant-governor, four clergymen and nine others appointed by the House of Burgesses, and four from the Council of State. The names of these incorporators were: Francis Nicholson, William Cole, Ralph Wormeley, William Byrd, Rev. James Blair, Rev. John Farnifold, Rev. Stephen Fouace, Rev. Samuel Gray, Thomas Miller, Christopher Robinson, John Smith, Charles Scarborough, Benjamin Harrison, Miles Cary, Henry Hartwell, William Randolph, Matthew Page. See McIlwaine, *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, 1659/60-93, pp. 360-61. May 15, 1691.

accepted the charter and work began in earnest. A site was selected at Middle Plantation in Bruton Parish, and the name Williamsburg was given to the town proposed to be built around the college. The board of incorporators, already appointed by the assembly before Blair went to England upon his mission, was set up and organized,³⁸ and after the letting of contracts the cornerstone of the college building was laid on August 8, 1695, with great ceremony and wide rejoicing.³⁹

Meanwhile the grammar school had begun under Mr. Inglis, even before the buildings were completed, and it was a day of real achievement when on November 5, in the year 1698 the students of the grammar school first began paying to the governor the college's annual "quit-rent" of two copies of Latin verse.⁴⁰ Another red letter day came at Christmas in 1700, when the president of the college, the Latin master and the writing master, "and so many of the scholars as are willing to board there" went to live in the newly completed college building.⁴¹

Many and grievous were the difficulties which Blair was forced to meet during the years in which the college was being organized and developed. Upon his return to Jamestown with the charter he found that his friend, Colonel Nicholson, had been removed and Sir Edmund Andros had become governor, and he realized only too soon that in the very orders and instructions he had brought back from England lay the seed of misunderstanding and conflict between them.

In addition to the grants made from the quit-rents and taxes for the erection of the college buildings and its continued support, the commissary had brought also an order from the queen directing that the income of the quit-rents, amounting annually to eight or nine hundred pounds sterling, be applied to augment the salaries of the clergy. This gift of the net proceeds of the most stable public fund in the colony added to the order of the king that two thousand pounds sterling, or about half of the total reserve in the bank of quit-rents be applied to the erection of the college building, brought immediate realization to the governor and Council of State that if the orders of both king and queen should be obeyed there would not be sufficient funds left to pay the salaries and other expenses of government which were ordinarily paid out of this fund. Strong protest was made by the governor to the privy

³⁸McIlwaine, *Executive Journals of the Council*, I: 334.

³⁹The king having given twenty thousand acres of land to the college, instead of requiring the payment of the customary quit-rent of two shillings per hundred acres, (which would have amounted to £20 sterling per annum), directed that two copies of Latin verses be prepared every year and presented annually on Guy Fawkes Day to the governor as representative of the king. See Hartwell Blair and Cocke, *Present State of Virginia and the College*, pp. 92-93.

⁴⁰Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁴¹Perry, *Virginia Volume*, p. 13.

council that if the quit-rents were applied to the salaries of the clergy the government of the colony would be unable to function without receiving annual aid from the English treasury. The king thereupon modified the queen's order and directed that the effort be made for three years to see if Virginia could pay its necessary expenses without using the quit-rent fund; in which case the quit-rents should be applied as the queen had directed.⁴²

The governor, with the approval doubtless of the members of the council of state, determined to show the privy council that the colonial government could not get along without the quit-rent fund. With that end in view they ordered payments out of that fund for expenditures which, according to the commissary, had never before been charged to that fund and, he was convinced, were being paid out of it now simply to prevent its use as the king had ordered.⁴³ The discovery of this conduct on the part of the governor, (or was it in large part Blair's suspicions that such was the governor's motive?) threw the commissary into such a rage that he was suspended from the council because of the heat of his intemperate statements and charges against the governor.⁴⁴

As no available record appears to give the governor's side in this matter it must be remembered that we are not in a position to judge fairly between them, or to know what answer the governor made to Blair's charges of unfair dealing. The fact that the council upheld the governor and suspended the commissary would seem to suggest caution in the formation of our own opinions. But from our standpoint of today, and, one may imagine, from that of many leaders of the life of Virginia in that day, it was an exceedingly unwise act on the part of the queen to try to start the custom of paying the clergy out of the general funds of the colony. It was the duty of the people of every parish to pay the salary of their own minister out of their own parochial funds, whether raised by taxation or by free gifts, and it was their duty to pay him a living salary. That was one of the responsibilities arising out of their right of self-government. Any relief from parochial taxation by taking funds from the public treasury was a sort of putting the parishes upon a governmental dole, which inevitably would have increased in

⁴²Perry, *Virginia Volume*, p. 65.

⁴³Blair had been appointed a member of the Council of State in 1694 and took the oath of office July 18, in that year. See McIlwaine *Executive Journals of the Council*, I: 314. He was suspended April 19, 1695. See *Executive Journals of the Council*, I: 324-25. His expulsion continued more than a year until August 12, 1696, when, his friends in England having secured from the king an order for his restoration, he was readmitted to his seat. See *Ibid.*, I: 350, 352.

⁴⁴Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-65. Blair's charges are given in full pp. 10-29, and the account of the hearing before the bishops, pp. 36-65. For a brief summary of the charges see Farish's *Introduction to Hartwell Blair and Chilton's Present State of Virginia and the College*, p. xxvi.

amount, and would undoubtedly have placed both clergy and vestries under the domination of civil government. Pauperization, and loss of liberty through feeding at the public crib, is by no means entirely a modern ailment. Attacked and accused as he was, and perhaps maligned, Andros was serving the best interests of the Church when he opposed the gift of the quit-rents to augment the salaries of the clergy, even though, if Blair's accusations were strictly true, one might question the methods he used.

The situation between governor and commissary became more and more tense, as time passed. In addition to the charge that Governor Andros had so loaded the quit-rent fund as to take away any possibility of carrying out the queen's orders, Blair charged further that Andros had blocked the act passed by the General Assembly in 1694 for increasing the salaries of the clergy; that he had refused to uphold the clergy by compelling vestries to present their incumbent ministers for induction; that he was antagonistic to the college, and had hindered the erection of buildings, and by his attitude had checked and blocked the payment of amounts pledged. The controversy between them seemed to be so irreconcilable that a hearing was held by the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London in December, 1697, at which both Blair and representatives of the governor were present.⁴⁵ Andros was removed within a few months and it is commonly stated that Blair, through his friends at court, was influential in securing his recall. It is certain that he urged and succeeded in securing the return of Colonel

⁴⁵See the account of Sir Edmund Andros in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. He was landgrave of Carolina in 1672, governor of New York in 1674 and for several years afterward. "He handled very skilfully the problems of government, but charges were made against him. He was exonerated, but did not return." Knighted in 1681; Lieutenant-Colonel of the Princess of Denmark Regiment in 1685.

When James Second completed the plan begun by Charles Second of consolidating the New England colonies into one royal province, Sir Edmund Andros was appointed governor of "The Dominion of New England." This was in 1686. Upon the abdication of King James this Dominion collapsed and Andros was thrown into prison and sent to England where he was released. Appointed governor of Virginia in 1692.

"Commissary Blair complained that Andros was indifferent to the needs of the Church and the new College of William and Mary, but no charge of mismanagement was brought against him." In 1704 he was made lieutenant governor of the Island of Guernsey. "Though not popular with the advocates of democratic government, he was nevertheless one of the ablest of the English governors in the seventeenth century. He was primarily a soldier and never a diplomat. He was impatient and brusque. . . . There is no evidence of his ever having turned his position of authority to personal profit."

McIlwaine in his introduction to the *Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1695-1702*, p. xxix, footnote, writes: "Andros was fifty-five years old when he came to Virginia as governor, and during his residence his health was very poor. Though mentally energetic and industrious he was, on account of his age and impaired health, unable to manage the affairs of the colony to the satisfaction of the home government."

Francis Nicholson in 1698 for a second term as lieutenant-governor of Virginia.

It seems unwise to accept at full face value all the charges made against the governor by Commissary Blair. In considering them we must realize that they were made in an atmosphere of intense heat and anger on both sides, where each antagonist magnified the words and insinuations of the other. In regard to some at least of the statements made by Blair at the archbishop's hearing it can be shown from other records that his charges were a bit too highly colored; yet we must recognize his integrity and his conviction that he was fighting against unfair treatment by the governor. Andros, on the other hand, had spent many years in America as governor of one colony after another, and had shown himself to be an able and careful administrator of affairs. He ranks much above the average of colonial governors in integrity and ability.⁴⁶ In spite of Blair's charges of his being an enemy of religion, there is the mute evidence of a handsome silver paten given by him to the church in Jamestown in 1694,⁴⁷ and indeed when these charges were reported to the Council of State that body adopted a resolution expressing the unanimous opinion of all except the commissary, that "the clergy have all along in this Governor's time been as well respected and taken care of as at any time since their remembrance, and believe as they ever were in this Dominion, and his Excellency always ready to espouse the concerns of and help the clergy and give all despatch and assistance in what relates to the College."⁴⁸ The truth of the matter is perhaps to be found in the fact that both governor and commissary were autocratic and dictatorial, and neither one could stand being crossed in his plans.

The hurt to the college arising from this antagonism was intense, as was also the effect upon the influence and power of Blair as the commissary, inasmuch as his success in that office was in so large a degree dependent upon the goodwill and cooperation of the governor. But days yet more bitter were still to come.

Colonel Francis Nicholson came from the gubernatorial chair of Maryland to his second term as lieutenant-governor of Virginia, welcomed by people who remembered the success of his previous administration from 1690 to 1692. For a few years the governor and the commissary worked together in mutual cooperation, but about 1702 a most bitter dissension arose between them, and Nicholson and Blair were soon as bitterly at loggerheads as ever Blair had been with Andros.

⁴⁶This patent is now in the possession of Bruton Parish in Williamsburg.

⁴⁷McIlwaine, *Executive Journals of the Council*, I: 355-56. October 14, 1696.

⁴⁸Hening's *Statutes*, III; 419. Perry, *op cit.*, p. 120.

The college buildings, delayed in completion by the difficulties arising in the administration of Andros, were still in an unfinished state when, after the fire which destroyed the statehouse at Jamestown in 1698, the General Assembly determined to remove the seat of government to Williamsburg, and the governor decided to use the college buildings as the temporary administration offices until a building could be erected for the purpose.⁴⁹ This use of the property was naturally a great inconvenience but both college and assembly made the best of it. As a step forward for the college it was announced at Christmas in the year 1700 that the president and masters, and as many of the scholars as were willing to do so, would take up their residence in the main college building. This was done by mutual agreement of governor and commissary,⁵⁰ and this double use of the buildings continued for several years longer, until the capitol building was erected.

As one reads the letters written by Governor Nicholson to the archbishop of Canterbury in the year 1700⁵¹ the impression is formed

⁴⁹Perry, *op. cit.*, 120.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 115-121.

⁵¹See *Dictionary of American Biography* for an account of Col. Francis Nicholson. He was born in 1655 in Yorkshire and died in 1728. He served in the army in Tangier as courier and aide; captain of a company of foot-soldiers sent to New England under Sir Edmund Andros. He was made a member of the Council for the Dominion of New England, and was commissioned lieutenant-governor and stationed in New York at the time of the Revolution in 1688.

He was lieutenant-governor of Virginia from 1690 to 1692 under the absentee governor Lord Howard. "This was probably his most successful administration. Always taking a broad and even continental view of colonial affairs he made several trips to the interior to study frontier conditions. He sent also a personal agent through the northern colonies to report on the situation there. He encouraged the establishment of postal service between Virginia and New York. . . . His most enduring service to Virginia was the support and financial assistance he gave to James Blair in the founding of William and Mary College."

He was governor of Maryland, 1694-98. "Here as in every colony he served he labored to advance the cause of the Anglican Church and of education. His activities in these directions were so extensive as to lead to the report in England a few years later that he had 'established two universities and twenty-eight churches in America'. Everywhere he went Nicholson encouraged the buildings of schools and churches, both by appeals to the assemblies for necessary legislation and by generous gifts from his own pocket."

"The last years of his administration in Maryland were marred by a series of bitter personal quarrels during which Nicholson in ungovernable temper lost much of his earlier popularity."

Governor of Virginia, 1698-1705, "His second term in that colony was far less successful than the first. His temper became more violent than before and led to his estrangement from Commissary Blair after the latter had read him a lecture on his conduct. Nicholson's dictatorial behavior aroused the opposition of several leading councillors, who accused him of trying to dominate the Council." "Yet he managed to do much for the good of the colony. He was the leading spirit in the removal of the capital from Jamestown to Williamsburg, and in the establishing there of adequate facilities for governmental offices. He greatly improved the provincial finances, and succeeded at least partially in making the local administration more efficient. He continued his interest in inter-colonial affairs, and once went personally to New York to confer with Lord Cornbury on problems of

of a man genuinely interested in the welfare of Virginia and also of the other colonies where he had previously served. He wrote of his concern regarding the laws affecting the status of the Church of England in the other colonies, and shows a wide knowledge of conditions. All this is in keeping with the reputation he had made for himself by his conduct and actions during his previous career.

Like Sir Edmund Andros, Colonel Nicholson had devoted most of his adult life to the colonial service, and had won general commendation for his ability and success. He was moreover known to be a most devoted member of the Church of England, and was gratefully remembered in many places of his former residence because of his gifts for the erection of churches, and for the part he had taken in the organization and establishment of both the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg and Saint John's College at Annapolis, in Maryland.⁵²

By the year 1702, however, a storm had burst in Virginia which continued with increasing fury and devastation until it had involved not only the governor and commissary but the Council of State also, who supported the commissary, and the clergy of the colony, the great majority of whom sided with the governor.⁵³ So the unhappy spectacle was presented again, as in the days of Andros, of the two men of highest position, one in State and one in the Church, hating each other and fighting each other at every point.

The blast of charge and countercharge continued for three years, and longer. Blair and a group of members of the council charged the governor with arbitrary and tyrannical conduct, ill-treatment of the mutual concern. His downfall came not because of a hostile Assembly, for the House of Burgesses continued friendly to the end, but because of a little group of councillors whom he had antagonized."

He returned to America in 1709 to take part in a joint attack upon Canada and Port Royal. In 1710 he was brigadier-general and commander in chief of the expedition that captured Port Royal in October, 1710, thus establishing British military supremacy in the Acadian Peninsula. He was governor-general of Nova Scotia in 1713.

Dropped from public office after the accession of King George in 1714, he was appointed governor of South Carolina in 1720 and served until his retirement on account of ill health in 1725. He was never married. At his death he left most of his property to the S. P. G., of which he had long been an ardent member."

For an estimate of Colonel Nicholson from another point of view, see E. L. Pennington's *The Apostle of New Jersey*, published by the Church Historical Society. The Rev. John Talbot, the first Anglican minister in New Jersey, writes enthusiastically of the help given by Colonel Nicholson: "He has done more for the propagating of the gospel of Christ and His Church in this vast howling wilderness than all the governors that ever came to these dominions." See p. 142. See also pp. 86, 90-91, 95, 99, 104.

⁵²For the charges made by members of the Council, see Perry, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81. For the attitude of the clergy, see the minutes of the convention of August, 1705, in Perry, pp. 141-153.

⁵³*Ibid.*, 131-38. But actually almost the whole of Perry's volume from page 69 to p. 181 is devoted to the quarrel between the two.

clergy and mistreatment and oppression of the college;⁵⁴ and added also a charge of serious moral lapse which was entirely out of keeping with the reputation Nicholson had borne in other colonies, and which the present writer finds it hard to believe.⁵⁵ The governor, on his part, declared that "what Blair hath sworn against me is not only out of the height of inveterate malice and revenge, but that he hath forsworn himself in a great many things, as will appear by records and living testimonies."⁵⁶

Unlike however the storm that centered around Andros, Governor Nicholson had many friends and a strong party who disapproved and opposed the attacks made by the commissary and members of the council. The House of Burgesses seems to have taken no part in the controversy, but rather seems to have sided with the governor. The clergy, who were called to a convention in August, 1705, which was intended to be a "peace" meeting, nearly a year after Nicholson had been recalled, were outspoken in their strong sympathy with the ex-governor, and in their hostility to Commissary Blair.⁵⁷ They declared in so many words that the depositions relating to the governor's alleged ill-treatment of the clergy were "frivolous, scandalous, false, and malicious."⁵⁸

In an effort to secure an unbiased opinion about conditions in Virginia, the bishop of London sent Colonel Robert Quarry to investigate the charges that had been made. In his report Colonel Quarry criticizes Blair's attitude of prejudice against Nicholson, and blames the commissary strongly for his hostility to the governor. He urged the bishop to remove Blair and give him some good preferment in England, declaring that in doing this he would be rendering the greatest service, not only to the peace of Virginia but to other colonies in America as well.⁵⁹

In the lack of knowledge of any other motive, it would seem that the trouble between the governor and the commissary had its origin in the double use of the college buildings for educational purposes and administrative offices of government at the same time. Blair charged in 1703 that Nicholson had forced the college into debt of more than £500 through hasty and unwise demands and changes during the erection of the buildings. "I have heard him swear that he will seize the College for the King's use & he crowded into it the Secretary's office,

⁵⁴Perry, 79; see also p. 70.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 182.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, 141-153.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 141.

⁵⁸See the report of Colonel Quarry in full in Perry, 82-87. But see also Blair's comments on Colonel Quarry.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 133-34.

the Clerk of the Council's office, the Clerk of the House of Burgesses office, and all their lodgings, with himself and all their committees, & had all his public treats in their great hall, to the great disturbance of the College business." He declared further that the college income arising from the penny per pound tax had been greatly lessened because of the governor's actions and attitude, and he had forced the college to pay such great and unexpected expenses "that there was not enough left to pay the Master's salary."⁶⁰

Although we do not have the reply of Nicholson to these charges it is very easy to understand that two such determined and obstinate men as Blair and Nicholson could not possibly have used two buildings, the Wren Building and Brafferton Hall, at the same time for such diverse and conflicting purposes as the two men respectively demanded, without falling into hopelessly bitter conflict. Unquestionably Blair was convinced that he was fighting for the very life of his college against an arbitrary tyrant, but the college had to pay a heavy price eventually for the hatred of the two men for each other. It is equally unquestionable that it would have been far better in the long run for Blair to have borne in silence the inconveniences of the double occupation of the buildings until the capitol building could be completed rather than make the fight he did; but the governor must have been unbearably rude and discourteous.

A strongly contributory cause was the fact that Governor Nicholson, as he advanced in age had become increasingly autocratic and domineering in both conduct and language; and his temper became more and more uncontrollable. He seems to have let fly with outbursts of all his vocal artillery upon being crossed in the least matters, and he seemed to be ever ready to bring all his reserves of vituperation into action. "The governor," declared Mr. Blair, "governs us as if we were a company of Galley slaves, by continual roaring and thundering, cursing and swearing, base, abusive, billingsgate Language to that degree it is utterly incredible to those who have not been spectators of it."⁶¹

And then, on top of all his other troubles, the governor fell in love with a young lady of Virginia; and thereby placed himself absolutely in the power of his adversaries. An elderly man and bachelor of long standing though he was, his love affair seemed to affect him with all the fire and heat of a sixteen-year-old suffering from his first attack. Like Mars, "*Aeterno devictus vulner' amoris*"; but unlike that doughty god of war the governor had the unhappy experience of finding that his love was not returned and the lady would have none of him.

⁶⁰Perry, 125.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 69, 88, 90.

The colonel swore a mighty oath that if the young lady should marry another he would kill the bridegroom, the official who issued the license, and the parson who performed the ceremony,⁶² in addition to doing away with the other members of her family. Indeed he did not wait for the ceremony to be performed, but in order to show that he meant what he said, he attacked the parson one night when he met him in the road, and berated him soundly as a sort of reminder of what would happen.⁶³ To quote Commissary Blair's own words used in another connection, all this hot love was "nuts to his enemies" and gave additional reason for urging his removal as governor.

His recall came in 1704, and he was succeeded by Colonel Edward Nott who was cordially received, and gave promise of a quiet and peaceful administration; but he died on August 23, 1706, after service of less than two years. Colonel Robert Hunter was appointed to succeed him, but he was captured by the French on his voyage to Virginia. The colony, according to the custom already in force, was governed during an interregnum of four years by the successive presidents of the Council of State, as governors *pro-tem*. Colonel Alexander Spotswood, the next appointee as lieutenant-governor, arrived in Virginia in 1710.

* * * * *

A long period of years had to elapse during which the college, beginning with nothing, had to undergo the experiences of development as an educational institution. The charter provided that the preliminary work of organization, erection of buildings and getting educational courses started, should be done by a board of incorporators, or trustees, whose members had already been selected by the General Assembly before the charter was granted. The further provision was made that when the organization should have reached the point of having in the college a president and six teachers or professors, and a hundred students, more or less, including graduate and non-graduate pupils, the actual management and conduct of the institution should be turned over by the trustees to the president and masters of the college as a corporate body, after which the board of incorporators should continue in existence as a board of visitors of the college. A further most interesting provision was included, that so soon as this transfer of control was made,

⁶²Perry, 90-92. See also correspondence between Governor Nicholson and the young lady and her father in *William and Mary Quarterly Magazine*, 2nd Series, 22: 389-98.

⁶³These provisions appear in the charter, that about the parliamentary borough being in one of the final paragraphs. The charter is given in full in Hartwell Blair and Chilton's *Present State of Virginia and the College*, 1940 reprint, pp. 72-94; and also in the *History of William and Mary College from its beginning until 1874*, published by J. W. Randolph and English in Richmond, in 1874, pp. 3-16.

and the college thereby become a self-governing educational community, it should become a parliamentary borough, and have the right to elect a burgess as a member of the House of Burgesses.⁶⁴

As has previously been stated, the charter directed that Commissary James Blair should become the president of the college, and hold that position during his whole life-time; and should serve also as the rector of the college for the first year. Upon him obviously, because of his interest in the project, and his success in securing the charter, rested the responsibility of undertaking the work of organization, and the erection of buildings, the selection of faculty, and all the numberless and incessant details arising in the course of such a work. It was quickly found that he could not continue to hold a parish in Henrico County and attend satisfactorily to the affairs of the college. He was therefore in 1694 called to the charge of James City Parish at Jamestown, and held that parish until he was called to the charge of Bruton Parish at Williamsburg in 1710.

The educational work of the institution began with a grammar school, "for the immediate education of the youth of the said colony in the Latin and Greek languages, until the said college should be actually founded as aforesaid and the number of masters or professors in the said letters-patent mentioned made complete."⁶⁵ This was started at once under the Rev. Mungo Inglis⁶⁶ as master, whom Blair had brought with him from England. This school was held in rented quarters until the main college building could be erected.

As soon as the details of organization of the board of incorporators and selection of site for the college were completed Blair undertook the erection of buildings. There were two to be built first; one, the administration building, now called the Wren Building, and the other, called the Brafferton Building, to be used for the Indian School. The cost of the administration building was defrayed out of the grant of the quit-rents made by the king and queen; and the Brafferton Building was paid for out of the accumulated income of the Boyle bequest, as the necessary preliminary to the organization of the Indian School. In the

⁶⁴See the statement in the Deed of Transfer of the College to the President and Masters, in Randolph and English, *History of William and Mary College to 1874*, p. 23.

⁶⁵Rev. Mungo Inglis was a Scot. Served as master of the grammar school with an intermission of about five years, from 1693 until his death in 1719. He was mentioned in the Journal of the House of Burgesses in 1699 as "humanity professor" at the college. See *Journal of the House of Burgesses, 1695-1702*, p. 165. See also mentions of him in Perry's *Virginia Volume*; cf. the index.

⁶⁶See Governor Nicholson's letter to Robert Hix and John Ecans, Indian traders, in Perry, *op. cit.*, 123-24. No date is given in this letter, and the year 1700 is more a guess than an actual certitude. But it must have been about that time, and before the governor's break with the commissary in 1702.

year 1700, the completed main building was opened for use, and the Brafferton Building was so nearly completed that the governor and commissary were making plans for the opening of the school and for securing a group of Indian boys as the first scholars. In that year Nicholson wrote to certain Indian agents announcing that the building would be opened for occupancy during the next summer, and outlining the rules under which Indian scholars would be received.⁶⁷ He estimated that the Boyle Fund income would be large enough, after paying the salary of the master, to support nine or ten boys.

It is very interesting indeed to note, as was stated by Blair in the deed of transfer by which finally the college was turned over to the president and masters, that the agreement by which the trustees of the Boyle Fund made with Blair as the head of the college stated:

"Fourthly, the said President and masters and his or their successors should keep at the said college so many Indian children in sickness and health, in meat, drink, washing, lodging, clothes, medicines, books and education, from the first beginning of letters till they should be ready to receive orders, and be thought sufficient to be sent abroad to preach and convert the Indians, at the rate of fourteen pounds per annum for every such child, as the yearly income of the premises, subject to the deduction aforesaid, should amount to."⁶⁸

This pious hope of the donor, of educating Indian boys for the Christian ministry, was doomed to utter disappointment, as not a single Indian boy ever went through the college into the ministry of the Church. The fact was discovered then, as was proven 150 years later when the American government was spending thousands of dollars to bring Indians from the West to Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania and Hampton Institute in Virginia for Christian and industrial education, that most of these boys upon their return to their tribes dropped the film of civilization and returned to the ways of tribal life. The method was hopelessly wrong.⁶⁹

In the same year, 1700, the college seems to have been taking the first steps towards a beginning of work upon the college level. Governor Nicholson in that year wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury asking his help in securing a man who could hold the two chairs of mathematics and natural philosophy.⁷⁰ At that time the institution had in addition to the president, a school-master, a writing master, a Latin mas-

⁶⁷Randolph and English, *History of William and Mary College*, p. 27.

⁶⁸See the statement of Hugh Jones in Randolph and English's *History of William and Mary College*.

⁶⁹Perry, *op. cit.*, 120.

⁷⁰Randolph and English, *op. cit.*, 23, 24, 40.

ter, and an usher, or assistant teacher. The governor expressed the hope that the college would soon have enough masters to organize their self-governing corporation; but this event was still far in the future.

In October, 1705, the main college building was gutted by fire,⁷¹ and in the following year Blair wrote to the archbishop requesting that a petition be presented to the queen for a grant from the quit-rents to help in the rebuilding.⁷²

In addition to all the obstacles arising from both ordinary and unforeseen sources, and his turbulent controversies with two governors, Blair had to fight dislike and dissension amongst the masters in the college community itself. This is evidenced by a bitter attack made upon him by Mungo Inglis in a letter to ex-governor Nicholson in 1705,⁷³ and the part taken by the Rev. Hugh Jones, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, at the convention of clergy in 1719, where Professor Jones seems to have taken the lead in attacking and antagonizing his president.⁷⁴

Still the commissary fought doggedly on. In the year 1718 he received the encouragement of a grant of £1,000 from the General Assembly "for the education of ingenious scholars, native of this colony."⁷⁵ The required number of masters was still incomplete in 1724. In that year Blair was trying to find the funds with which to establish and support a professor of divinity and ten theological students. On July 17 he wrote to the bishop of London asking for help in securing an annual income of £400, of which £200 would be used as the salary of the professor and ten scholarships of £20 each provided for the support of ten students.⁷⁶

Finally however, all obstacles had been overcome and the provision of the charter complied with, of six masters and a hundred more or less of school and college students. These were listed in the deed of transfer as "two masters in the theology school, two other masters in the philosophy school, and one in the grammar school," and lastly the master of the Indian School.⁷⁷ But just one final obstacle remained; and that was the inveterate and undying hostility of Colonel Francis Nicholson to Commissary Blair. He had been appointed in 1692 one of the original board of incorporators of the college, and with President Blair

⁷¹Perry, *op. cit.*, 183-84.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 139-40.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 99, et seq. Especially pp. 215, 225, and his letter to the bishop of London, p. 246.

⁷⁴Hening's *Statutes*, IV: 74.

⁷⁵Perry, *op. cit.*, 319.

⁷⁶Randolph and English, *op. cit.*, 24.

⁷⁷Rev. Stephen Fouace was the clergyman whom Governor Nicholson attacked and threatened to kill if he should perform the marriage service of the young lady who had rejected the governor.

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In addition to all the obstacles arising from both ordinary and unforeseen sources, and his turbulent controversies with two governors, Blair had to fight dislike and dissension amongst the masters in the college community itself. This is evidenced by a bitter attack made upon him by Mungo Inglis in a letter to ex-governor Nicholson in 1705,⁷³ and the part taken by the Rev. Hugh Jones, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, at the convention of clergy in 1719, where Professor Jones seems to have taken the lead in attacking and antagonizing his president.⁷⁴

Still the commissary fought doggedly on. In the year 1718 he received the encouragement of a grant of £1,000 from the General Assembly "for the education of ingenious scholars, native of this colony."⁷⁵ The required number of masters was still incomplete in 1724. In that year Blair was trying to find the funds with which to establish and support a professor of divinity and ten theological students. On July 17 he wrote to the bishop of London asking for help in securing an annual income of £400, of which £200 would be used as the salary of the professor and ten scholarships of £20 each provided for the support of ten students.⁷⁶

Finally however, all obstacles had been overcome and the provision of the charter complied with, of six masters and a hundred more or less of school and college students. These were listed in the deed of transfer as "two masters in the theology school, two other masters in the philosophy school, and one in the grammar school," and lastly the master of the Indian School.⁷⁷ But just one final obstacle remained; and that was the inveterate and undying hostility of Colonel Francis Nicholson to Commissary Blair. He had been appointed in 1692 one of the original board of incorporators of the college, and with President Blair

⁷¹Perry, *op. cit.*, 183-84.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 139-40.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 99, et seq. Especially pp. 215, 225, and his letter to the bishop of London, p. 246.

⁷⁴Hening's *Statutes*, IV: 74.

⁷⁵Perry, *op. cit.*, 319.

⁷⁶Randolph and English, *op. cit.*, 24.

⁷⁷Rev. Stephen Fouace was the clergyman whom Governor Nicholson attacked and threatened to kill if he should perform the marriage service of the young lady who had rejected the governor.

himself and one other, the Rev. Stephen Fouace,⁷⁸ were now the three surviving members of that original board. Because of the ownership of real estate involved it was necessary that the transfer of ownership from the original trustees or incorporators to the new corporation of president and masters should be effected by a formal deed of bargain and sale, which required the signature of every surviving member of the original board, Nicholson flatly refused to sign an instrument that would place his ancient enemy in full charge of the college as president of the new corporation; and the college was therefore perforce compelled to wait until the bitter old man should die.⁷⁹

Looking back from the standpoint of today upon the early struggles of what is now a venerable institution with a checkered career of two hundred and fifty years of service in the training of American youth, one must make profound and grateful recognition of the indomitable will and determination, and the great ability, of the man who conceived the idea and carried it onward through storm and stress to so great and abiding success. Virginia owes James Blair, President of the College of William and Mary, an undying debt of gratitude.

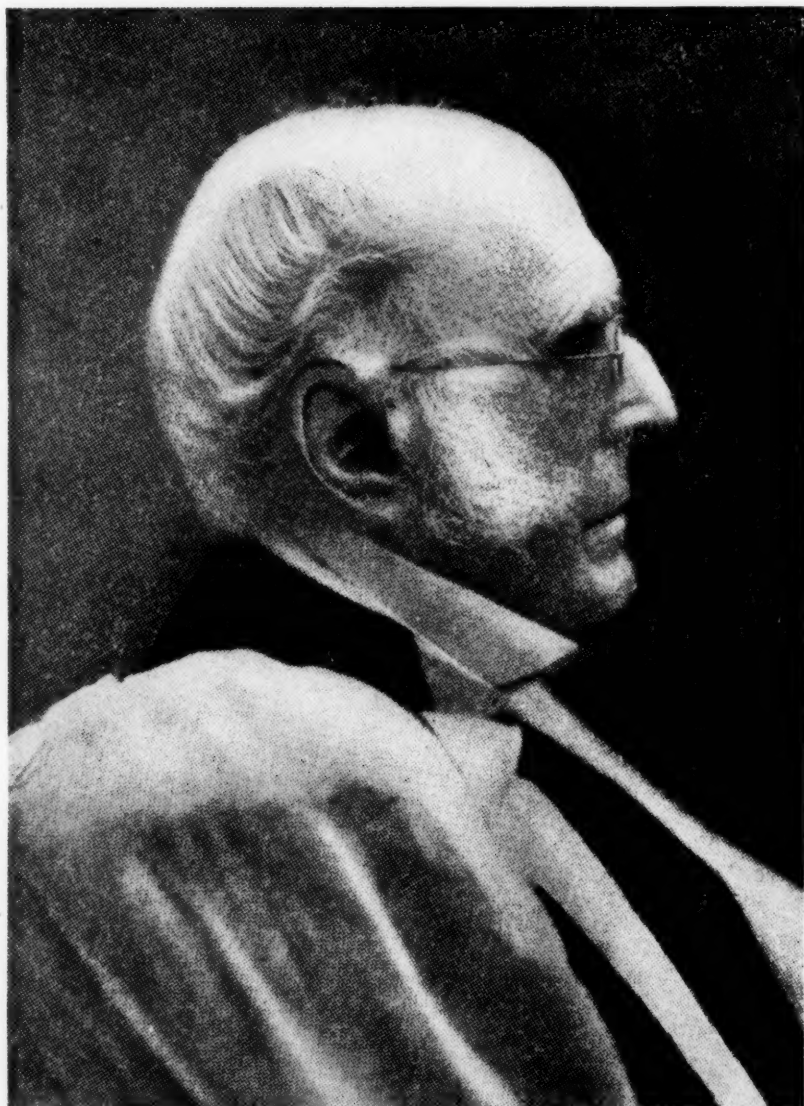
⁷⁸For Colonel Francis Nicholson's refusal to sign the deed of transfer, see letter of Governor William Gooch to the bishop of London dated July, 1728, in *Fulham Palace Records*, in which he says "Now that Colonel Nicholson is dead I hope that all things will be made easier and settled to the advantage of the College."

⁷⁹Both the charter of the college and the deed to transfer to the president and masters are given in full in Randolph and English, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-30.

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THE RIGHT REVEREND JOHN WILLIAMS, D. D.

August 30, 1817-February 7, 1899

BISHOP COADJUTOR OF CONNECTICUT

October 29, 1851-January 13, 1865

FOURTH BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT

1865-1899

FOUNDER OF BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL

PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE CHURCH

1887-1899

JOHN WILLIAMS
BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT
1865-1899

*By William A. Beardsley**

IF the life-story of the fourth bishop of Connecticut is never fully and adequately told it will be due in large part to the extreme modesty of the bishop himself, to his aversion to be made the subject of a story, and to the too conscientious adherence to instructions, which, for the benefit of posterity, might well have been relaxed, it would seem, without any serious breach of good faith.

For, after all, a man whose life has been lived in the public eye, and whose work has been done for the public good, does in a real sense belong to the public. It is not quite fair to withhold the record from posterity. They have a right to share in it. It belongs to them. There is inspiration and satisfaction in the contemplation of it.

John Williams was born in Deerfield, Massachusetts, August 30, 1817, only son of Ephraim and Emily Trowbridge Williams. The Williams family is a very ancient one and a very large one. For the earliest roots of it we should probably have to reach back into the principality of Wales in Britain, for there the name abounds. But we will content ourselves with starting from Robert Williams of Roxbury, from whom come many if not most of those who bear the name in this country. John was the sixth in line from Robert, coming through Isaac, Ephraim, Thomas, Ephraim. The mention of Deerfield, his birthplace, starts the imagination tingling. Associated with it is much that is historic and tragic, and in both history and tragedy members of the Williams family are prominent.

In a Deerfield street, bordered by stately elms, stood and still stands, the birthplace of John Williams. It was a modest but substantial frame house, such as might be found in any of our New England villages one hundred and twenty-five years ago, and gave them the appearance of prosperity and comfort, as well as a certain picturesqueness which has inspired poet and painter alike. In this quiet village young Williams grew up, and there he received his education in preparation for his ad-

*The Rev. Dr. Beardsley is Historiographer of the Diocese of Connecticut.—
Editor's Note.

mission into college, for, like other boys similarly placed in life, his neighbors and his kinsmen, he naturally looked forward to a college training. He would have little difficulty in deciding to which college he should go. Massachusetts was his home and Harvard was the college of Massachusetts, on the alumni roster of which were many who bore the name of Williams, not all necessarily his near or even distant relatives. And then, besides, the Unitarian atmosphere of Harvard would have a certain magnetic influence in drawing him thither.

At what seems to us the early age of fourteen he was ready to enter upon his college life, which he did in 1831. That does not signify any undue precociousness on his part, for fourteen was not an unusual age at that time for boys to enter college, and his academic record and general alertness of mind would indicate that he was quite able to do so. Bishop George Burgess (1809-1866) entered Brown University when he was thirteen.

Williams was not destined to pursue his collegiate course to its end in the atmosphere of Harvard. As Bishop Henry C. Potter (1835-1908) says, he found it "not merely cold but dry." And those atmospheric conditions suited neither his intellectual nor religious nature. What he had in mind for his life work when he entered college we do not know, certainly not the preparation for that ministry which he later entered, and so splendidly adorned. His parents were Unitarians, and his father was a lawyer held in high esteem in his profession. There is indicated the course which he might naturally follow in his religion and in his occupation. But he went neither way. In both directions he seems to have blazed his own trail.

Did he have any interest in, or knowledge of, the Episcopal Church, when at the age of fourteen he entered Harvard College? We do not know, but if that interest and knowledge were his, it was not acquired through any active participation in Church life in his home town, for Deerfield did not have an Episcopal Church within its borders, nor does it have to-day. It would seem as if that interest sprouted and fructified after he entered Harvard.

Among his classmates was Benjamin Davis Winslow (1815-1839) of Boston, about a year and a half his senior, who had but recently been baptized into the Episcopal Church by the Reverend William Crosswell (1804-1857), and became a devoted member of the Church. It is said that he was largely responsible for the change in Williams' convictions. We may be thankful that his influence was exerted only to the point of fixing his mind upon the Episcopal Church. Winslow became enmeshed in the Roman net, and would have been hopelessly entangled if it had not been for the prompt and sympathetic measures which his

uncle, Bishop George Washington Doane (1799-1859), took to rescue him.¹

So far as we know he exerted no influence on Williams in this direction. His feet were on the ground, and his intellectual discriminations were sharp. As he had the power to veer away from Unitarianism, so he had the power to keep clear of any Roman errors. After two years at Harvard he transferred to the recently established Washington College at Hartford, Connecticut, its name to be changed to Trinity College in 1845. What led him to turn to this new college, struggling into existence, without any reputation in the academic world, we do not know, but we can conjecture. Washington College was definitely a college of the Episcopal Church, established along broad lines by the Church people of Connecticut in response to the strong feeling that there should be a college of that Church within the borders of Connecticut. The Congregational Standing Order had done its best to prevent its establishment, on the ostensible ground that there was not room in the small state for another college, and that it would deflect strength from Yale. To-day that seems rather fantastic, but it was not fantastic in the early years of the eighteenth century, as one will conclude who studies the list of the clergy of the Episcopal Church who were educated at Yale, because there was no other place in Connecticut.

Persistence won and in 1823 Washington College received its charter. Williams in his departure from Unitarianism had whole-heartedly turned to the Episcopal Church. Here was the college in New England belonging to that Church, and Williams was a thoroughgoing New Englander. It was only natural that he should wish to strengthen the foundations of the faith which he had accepted, and to do that he would place himself under those influences where the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Episcopal Church were firmly taught.

At the moment the Right Reverend Thomas Church Brownell (1779-1865) was not at the head of the college, but he had been since its organization, and had ceased to be only two years before Williams entered. He was an educator with a reputation which began at Union College,² and he was a staunch Churchman. Williams would know all this. And here, no doubt, was the prime reason why Williams, in changing his academic loyalties, went to Washington College in Connecticut.

The class which he entered, that of 1835, graduated only nine men, though seventeen began as freshmen. The classes were all small at that time. The college was decidedly in its infancy. And yet the quality

¹*History of the Church in Burlington, New Jersey*, by the Reverend George Morgan Hills, D. D., second edition, p. 454.

²Professor and Lecturer, 1806-1817.

was there if not the quantity. Four of the nine which graduated rose to eminence. James Roosevelt Bayley (1814-1877) became the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore,³ Robert Tomes (1817-1882), a writer of distinction, John Turner Wait (1811-1899) a member of the Federal Congress, and John Williams (1817-1899) the foremost bishop in the American Episcopal Church. Certainly not a bad record. There was also a member of the class who did not remain to graduate, who was a member of it three years less one term, John Bigelow (1817-1911) journalist and diplomat, whose career was one of great honor and accomplishment.

A member of the class, Robert Tomes, in his little volume, *My College Days*, has left an interesting and graphic account of the college of his time, and of his classmates, none of whom, he says, while they were in college, seemed to give any promise of greatness, though "John Williams was the only one for whom the possibility of such an elevation as he has reached, could have been predicted with any show of reason." From Tomes we learn that it was not without serious objections, on the part of Williams' father and New England friends, that he left Harvard and went to Hartford. Presumably Tomes got that from Williams himself. It could hardly be expected that this change could be made without parental objection.

Tomes gives us a picture of the young student who had just come

³In the Diary of E. E. Beardsley (1808-1891) is this entry for October 3, 1863:

"Received a call from Bishop Bayley of Newark, N. J. (Roman Catholic), but not finding me in I returned his call at C. M. Ingersoll Esq^s where I chatted with him an hour and took a cup of tea. He graduated at Trinity College in the same class with Bishop Williams (1835), had been a private pupil of mine after his dismission from Amherst College, and afterwards, when I was a Tutor in Trinity he roomed in the section of which I had immediate charge and my intercourse with him was frequent and friendly. Upon his graduation he turned his attention to the ministry of the Episcopal church, studied Theology with Dr Jarvis at Middletown, and in due time was ordained Deacon in Christ Church, Hartford, by Bishop Brownell. Subsequently he went to Europe, and before his return to this country, he renounced the faith of his fathers, gave in his allegiance to the church of Rome and was re-ordained. For this act his grandfather disinherited him unless he recanted—and he contested the Will in the higher courts of New York—but finally lost his case and with it a large property. All this time he was the private secretary & chaplain of Archbishop Hughes, N. Y., and probably through his influence with the Pope and Cardinals at Rome, and by way of rewarding him for preferring his new faith to an ancestral inheritance, he was appointed and consecrated to the See of Newark, N. J. I believe he is the first native American, educated in the Episcopal church, who has been elevated to this higher position in the Roman hierarchy."

He is now as he was in his youth, a genial companionable man, and seems to take pleasure in remembering and being remembered by his old Protestant friends."

For a further sketch of Bayley, see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. II, pp. 73-74.

down from Cambridge, which may well be reproduced at this point. He says:

"He was only seventeen or eighteen years of age when I first knew him; and yet, with his tall, stiff figure, his long serious face and high composed brow, his mild blue eyes, the natural fire of which, if they had any, was subdued by the spectacles he always wore, his sobriety of demeanor and measured talk, the old-fashioned cut of his black coat, and his gaitered shoes, he had already the look and manner of a settled parish clergyman. We always called him 'Parson Williams.' He appeared much older than his age, and his conduct was not only in harmony with his apparent maturity of years but with his ardent profession of piety."

By this time Williams had set his course for the ministry. Under what better guide could he place himself than under Bishop Brownell, the godly bishop of Connecticut, upon whose orthodoxy there never was a shadow of doubt. He had ceased to be president of the college in 1831, but his guiding hand was still upon it. In the college as professor of oriental languages and literature was Samuel Farmar Jarvis (1786-1851), son of the second bishop of Connecticut, Abraham Jarvis (1739-1813), a profound scholar, steeped in the history of the Church, and thoroughly versed in its theology. Under him Williams, after graduating from college, studied in preparation for the ministry, and was for a while at the General Theological Seminary in New York. He is listed as a non-graduate in the class of 1838. On September 2, 1838, he was ordained deacon by Bishop Brownell in Christ Church, Middletown, Connecticut, not the original building in which Bishop Seabury held his first ordinations, for that had been removed in 1835, but in the second church built in 1834.

Three years passed by and on September 26, 1841, he was advanced to the priesthood in the same place and by the same bishop. During the intervening time, 1837 to 1840, he was serving as tutor in Washington College, and from 1840 to 1841 he was traveling abroad, accompanied by his mother. They were joined by Mrs. Sigourney (1791-1865), the "Sweet Singer of Hartford." Upon his return home he became assistant minister in Christ Church, Middletown, where he had been ordained. The Reverend Dr. Harry Croswell (1778-1858), rector of Trinity Church, New Haven, had hoped to have him for his assistant, the bishop having recommended him on the supposition that he was available. But it was ascertained that he had gone under a previous engagement to assist Dr. Jarvis in Middletown.

The General Convention of 1838 had made it "the duty of Dr. Jarvis to write an ecclesiastical history drawn from original sources."⁴ Consequently, he reports to his parish that he needed an assistant, one who "could not only relieve him in some measure from parochial duty, but also aid him in the laborious researches which such a work would render necessary." After his return from abroad Mr. Williams entered upon his duties as assistant, "much to the comfort of the Rector, and the acceptance of the Congregation."

But Mr. Williams was not destined to give much aid to Dr. Jarvis in the preparation of his history, for in 1842 he resigned as rector, and while it was the great desire of his soul that this excellent friend and brother should become his successor in the rectorship, Mr. Williams resisted all his entreaties, and uniformly and publicly declared, that the labors of both in the parish must terminate at the same moment. And they did. Why Mr. Williams did not wish to remain on at Middletown, though the parish desired him to do so, is no part of our story now, even if we knew. His connection with the parish ceased March 28, 1842.

RECTOR OF ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, SCHENECTADY, N. Y.

He was now free to undertake work elsewhere. A man of his ability and attractive personality would not remain free very long. And he did not, for very soon in that year of 1842 he received and accepted a call to the ancient parish of St. George's, Schenectady, N. Y. It is not difficult to understand why this call may have come to him. Bishop Brownell, while still a professor in Union College, became interested in the Episcopal Church and was baptized and confirmed in St. George's Church. He knew the parish and was known by it, he knew his young presbyter, and any recommendation from him would have great weight. Presumably he did recommend him, though he knew that his transfer to New York meant a loss to his own diocese, and to him personally.

It was on May 24, 1842, that the call was extended to him at a salary of \$800 a year, and the rectory. On July 29 he was formally instituted as rector. Here at St. George's he remained for six years, that is, until 1848. The record of those years is the record of a good work well done, the record of a faithful parish priest. Says the historian of St. George's:

"Were we to base our opinion solely upon the minutes of the vestry, we must, perforce, be drawn to the conclusion that the brief rectorship of Mr. Williams held but little of interest,

⁴*A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church*, by Rev. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, D. D., published in 1845.

for these records, although they detail the proceedings of the governing body, indicate no unusual parish activity during this period, and record little worthy of comment. It is, indeed, to be regretted that these minutes thus reflect to no degree the noteworthy success which really attended the ministrations of Mr. Williams, and that they suggest in no way the reason for his success,—the personality of the man himself.”⁸

Perhaps as good an evidence as we could wish of the success he was achieving is the fact that in April, 1846, he received a call to another field of work, and proffered his resignation of St. George's to take effect June 1. But after earnest appeals he withdrew his resignation to the great relief and joy of the parish.

It was while he was here at St. George's that he published in 1844 a little volume entitled, *Ancient Hymns of Holy Church*. It was affectionately inscribed to the Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, M. A., “in memory of many conversations on the Sacred Ritual of the Church of God.” In his introductory note he says: “For anything more than a companion to private devotion, if indeed they shall be even so honored, these translations are not designed. The translator will account his object gained, if they shall have contributed any how and in any degree, to the advancement of a chastened and Catholic taste in Hymnology.”

In 1848, just before he left St. George's, he published *Thoughts on the Gospel Miracles*, in the advertisement of which he says: “The substance of this volume was delivered as a course of Lectures during the lenten season of 1847.” The dedication reads: “To the Congregation of St. George's, Schenectady, these pages written originally, solely with a view to their advantage, are now affectionately dedicated by their Pastor.”

In this year also there appeared a two-volume novel, the authorship of which was not disclosed at the moment. It bore the title: *Hawkstone: a Tale of and for England*. It was written by the Rev. William Sewell, a Church of England clergyman, and ran to several editions, among them being an American edition. To this there was a preface written by John Williams. It was a religious novel and dealt with the great theological and social questions of the day. The *English Review* said of it that “some of the scenes appear to us, not inferior in power to the very best of Walter Scott.” So far as it bore any resemblance to Scott it would certainly appeal to Mr. Williams, whose favorite author was Scott, and who never lost his love for him.

His work at St. George's came to an end September 1, 1848. Always

⁸*A History of St. George's Church in the City of Schenectady*, privately printed, 1919, by Willis J. Harrison.

he retained his love for the parish, and looked back upon his life there with evident satisfaction. Usually a man's first rectorship, if it has been a happy one, lives on in memory. He does not soon forget it. Dr. Williams gave expression to his feelings in a poem, the first four verses of which are quoted in Mr. Hanson's *History of St. George's*. One verse will suffice to show the love and loyalty which he felt.

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH

"My Ancient Church! I see thee now,
Beneath thy sheltering trees,
Whose foliage 'round thy graceful spire
Waves in the evening's breeze.
The moonlight on thy lowly walls
Pours down in chastened glow,
And gleams on many a stone that tells
What pilgrim sleeps below!"

In July, 1910, a memorial tablet was erected in Saint George's Church by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913). It bears this inscription:

"One of the many who hold in highest honour and
truest love the name of

JOHN WILLIAMS

sets here this memorial of his rare and noble life
as rector of this old parish for six years.
And of his high and honourable record after that
as Bishop for forty-eight years of the old Diocese
of Connecticut. And for twelve years, Presiding Bishop
of the Church."

This was not the only instance in which Mr. Morgan manifested his interest in and admiration for Bishop Williams. When Dr. Flavel S. Luther (1850-1928) was president of Trinity College in Hartford, Mr. Morgan paid a visit to it one day, and noting the need of additional library facilities said that he would give a library building in memory of Bishop Williams. He did so, and in 1914 the Williams Memorial Library was dedicated, a most valuable and acceptable addition to Trinity's beautiful and stately group of buildings.

PRESIDENT OF TRINITY COLLEGE, 1848 TO 1853

Twenty-five years had passed since Trinity College had, after long and bitter opposition, received its charter, and during that time three

men had been at its head, the Right Reverend Thomas Church Brownell (1779-1865), the Reverend Nathanael Sheldon Wheaton (1792-1862) and the Reverend Silas Totten (1804-1873). Upon the resignation and retirement of Dr. Totten, August 2, 1848, the college chose as his successor the Reverend John Williams, D. D. (1817-1899), rector of St. George's Church, Schenectady, N. Y. Only the year before, 1847, Union College had honored him with the degree of doctor in divinity. This was all the more noteworthy, because he had no associations with the college except those which he had formed as rector of the parish church. It bears witness to the esteem in which the authorities of the college held him, and to the influence which he exerted, both among the professors and the undergraduates. No doubt in this choice may be seen again the hand of Bishop Brownell. On August 3, 1848, Dr. Williams entered upon his duties as the fourth president of Trinity College. He was thirty-one years old, and a graduate of the college of thirteen years' standing, one of the youngest, if not the youngest, college presidents in the country.

Under his leadership the college moved forward. The original plans called for three buildings, two of which were constructed at the outset, Seabury Hall and Jarvis Hall, and just recently the third, Brownell Hall, had been completed under the administration of Dr. Totten. And thus was honored the Connecticut Episcopal triumvirate. The college still has in its fine new group of buildings, new since 1878, its Seabury and Jarvis Halls. Dr. Williams was the beneficiary of these added facilities. There was room now for growth. But not only in this physical way was the college expanding, it was showing in its internal development the signs of increasing strength and usefulness.

But Dr. Williams was not to remain long as the head of the college. The diocese of Connecticut had other work for him. In his convention address for 1845 Bishop Brownell said: "It is known to many of you that, on account of permanent bodily infirmities, I have contemplated applying to the Convention for the election of an Assistant Bishop." Although that part of his address was referred to a special committee, yet no action was taken in the matter at that time, due in part to the fact that the bishop's health was showing improvement, and also to the fact which, perhaps, had greater weight, that the means for the support of an assistant bishop were lacking.

Six years went by and the bishop's infirmities were increasing. He knew that the good of the diocese demanded that he should have assistance, and so in his convention address for 1851 he again brought the matter to the attention of the convention. This time it acceded to his request and proceeded at once to the election of an assistant bishop.

The convention was in session in St. John's Church, Waterbury, and the date was June 11, 1851. It knew just what it wished to do, and it did it promptly, for on the first balloting the clergy elected the Reverend Dr. Williams, who was president of Trinity College, and the laity when apprised of that fact confirmed the action. At that time the constitution of the diocese provided, on the part of the laity, their approval or disapproval of the choice of the clergy. They did not vote directly for their bishop.

The journal of the convention gives only the bare facts, but Dr. E. E. Beardsley (1808-1891) in his "Notes of Days"⁶ tells us that of the eighty-eight clerical votes cast seventy-three went to Dr. Williams, and when this result was communicated to the laity it was confirmed by a vote of eighty-seven to fourteen. What objection there was, was due, not to the character of the candidate, but to the combined relations which he was to sustain to the college and the diocese. There was a feeling that the latter should have all his thought and energy. Dr. Beardsley ends his "Note" on the convention and the election with these words: "May God bless to the lasting good of his church the important deliberations of this Convention! and may he who is called with such happy unanimity to preside over the Diocese have and deserve the affections of his brethren of the clergy & of the Laity."

But all this might not have turned out in this way. Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk (1791-1861), the bishop of New York, had been tried for certain misdemeanors and convicted. His punishment was suspension from the exercise of all episcopal duties. Several attempts were made to have this suspension remitted, because in the minds of many there was honest doubt as to his guilt, but to no avail. But although he was suspended, yet he was still the bishop of New York, and the diocese could not proceed to the election of another bishop. They sorely needed and greatly desired someone in the episcopal office.

In 1850 General Convention, appreciating the situation, took steps to relieve it by passing a Canon, *Of the Election of a Provisional Bishop in the case of a Diocese whose Bishop is suspended without a precise limitation of Time*. That was certainly an instance of special legislation. However, it was necessary. Of course the diocese of New York lost no time in availing itself of the provision of this canon, and at its convention held November 27, 1850, proceeded to the election of a provisional bishop. Among the half dozen or more men nominated was Dr. Williams, president of Trinity College, who, as former rector of St. George's, Schenectady, was well known in the diocese, and much beloved. Schenectady was then in the diocese of New York. After seven fruit-

⁶Manuscript Journal.

less ballots the convention adjourned to a later date. On all seven ballots, save the first, Dr. Williams was elected by the laymen, but fell short by a few votes on the part of the clergy. What might have happened at the adjourned convention, had Dr. Williams been available, we do not know, but on June 11, 1851, as we have seen, he was elected assistant bishop of Connecticut. This removed him from the field. It was quite as it should have been. He fitted better Main Street, Middletown, than Broadway, New York, though he would have fitted there if it had been his lot to do so.

ASSISTANT BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT

When the result of the election was duly communicated to Dr. Williams it brought from him a beautiful response of acceptance, in which among other things he said:

"To be associated as his helper with our venerated Diocesan, is a privilege, most highly estimated; for it may well be counted a peculiar advantage to be trained under such a master to the knowledge of a Bishop's duties. . . . I am most willing too, to devote my life to the service of a Diocese, in which I was confirmed, and received both my Orders; in whose principles I was educated; to which I am warmly attached; and whose spotless history I reverence and love."

On October 29, 1851, Dr. Williams was consecrated in St. John's Church, Hartford. Let us take Dr. E. E. Beardsley's account of it:

"The day was favourable and a large concourse of clergymen from Connecticut and the neighbouring Dioceses assembled to witness the solemnities of the consecration. Many laymen were also present & the church was crowded to its utmost capacity. The Bishops of the six New England Dioceses⁷ were all present and Bp. DeLancey⁸ of the Diocese of Western N. Y.

Bp. Burgess preached the sermon from Luke xxii, 26, 27 vs. It was an excellent Discourse and the portraiture which he drew of a Christian Bishop was admirable.

Bp. Burgess & Bp. Chase of New Hampshire presented the Bp. elect to Bp. Brownell the consecrating Bishop. The Rev^d Dr Clarke⁹ of Hartford & myself assisted in putting on, at the proper time, the Episcopal habit, and all the Bishops united in the imposition of hands."

⁷They were Bishops George Burgess (1809-1866) of Maine; Carlton Chase (1794-1870) of New Hampshire; Manton Eastburn (1801-1872) of Massachusetts; John P. K. Henshaw (1792-1852) of Rhode Island and John Henry Hopkins (1792-1868) of Vermont.

⁸Bishop William Heathcote DeLancey (1797-1865) of Western New York.

⁹Thomas March Clark (1812-1903), Rector of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of Rhode Island

And so at last the much-needed assistance was given to Bishop Brownell. He was not able to do much in the last ten years of his life, and seldom went out of Hartford. A sentence in his report for 1852 gives a good idea of the situation. He says: "I have administered the holy Rite of Confirmation in the following Parishes; in the most of which I was accompanied in my Visitation by the Assistant Bishop; who generally preached, and addressed the Candidates." More and more the burden of the work fell upon the assistant bishop, as Bishop Brownell's infirmities increased.

As we have seen, there was mild objection to the election of Dr. Williams as assistant bishop, solely on the ground of "the combined relations which he was to sustain to the college and the Diocese." It was a well-founded objection, and in 1853 the dual relationship ceased, only to give way to another. As Bishop Williams was so intimately associated with the beginning of Berkeley Divinity School, and as that beginning had its connection with Trinity College, let us turn to that part of the story.

BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL FOUNDED

Bishop Brownell in his convention address for 1852, says: "I may also call your attention to the fact that a Theological Department has been established, in connection with the college. For the last three years, there have been a few resident students of Theology, at the Institution: but shortly after the last Commencement, a full course of theological instruction was regularly organized. It has since been adopted by the Trustees, as an integral department in the college. Twenty students are now enrolled in this department."¹⁰

A special committee was appointed to consider this part of the bishop's address, and in its report were these resolutions:

Resolved, That we have heard with great pleasure and with profound gratitude to Almighty God of the successful efforts of our venerated Diocesan to establish a Theological Department in connection with Trinity College.

Resolved, That the large number of students already in attendance, is in our view a sufficient evidence of the need of such a department in the College, and presents the strongest encouragement to prosecute the work so well begun.

Resolved, That we the Clergy and Laity of Connecticut will not cease our prayers and efforts till this department of the College shall be placed upon a strong and permanent foundation."¹¹

¹⁰Journal of Diocesan Convention for 1852, p. 16.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 24.

Here we have the first steps towards the founding of Berkeley Divinity School. For a time the matter lay dormant, or better, perhaps, was getting into shape, but in his convention address for 1854 Bishop Williams brought the subject forward in a very definite way. He says:

"It is now about five years since theological instruction began to be regularly given to Candidates for Orders at Trinity College. The work was begun in no narrow spirit of localism, but simply under a strong feeling of the growing necessities of the Church in reference to the Sacred Ministry. . . . What has been done in the way of instruction, has been wholly gratuitous.

Within the last few months, the opportunity has been presented, to place the school on a firm basis, and with an endowment sufficient at least for all its present needs, on condition that it shall be established in the city of Middletown. It is believed that it will occasion no disadvantage, either to the School or the College, thus to disconnect them. Subscriptions have accordingly been commenced and are now in progress, under very favorable auspices; the Legislature have been petitioned to incorporate the institution, under the name of the 'Berkeley Divinity School'; and I have taken up my residence in Middletown, in the hope and confident expectation of commencing the operations of the School in that place, on the second day of October next."¹²

And so the school was moved to Middletown. The bishop's belief that to sever the school from the college would occasion no disadvantage to either was probably correct. But there were those who did not approve of the change. While we have no desire to revive a long-dead controversy, which does not appear in the bare statements of the journal, yet it may be of interest to give the following extract from a letter of a most devoted alumnus¹³ of the college, who was ever active in its behalf, to someone who is addressed as "My Dear H." As the letter indicates, he had been critical of his attitude in the matter. Among other things he says:

"As to the Theological School, it sprung from accident, rather than from any felt necessity. The appointment of a Prof^r of Eccl. History¹⁴ was the beginning of that organized plan of Theological Instruction which the Trustees of the College afterwards adopted as an integral department, which the Convention by sundry resolutions approved of—and which was suddenly removed to Middletown without consulting the authority which had called it into existence or the body which had

¹²Journal of the Diocese, 1854, p. 18.

¹³E. Edwards Beardsley, Trinity, 1832, manuscript letter.

¹⁴Thomas Winthrop Coit (1803-1885).

given it approbation. . . . I do not suppose that the Berk. Div. School could be returned to Hartford without reviving jealousies and bickerings which are fresh in the recollections of the older churchmen of the Diocese. I am the last man to lift a hand against the thing as it is—but I still believe the policy was a mistaken one & that, if we *must* have Theological instruction in Connecticut, it had better been given as originally designed. Yale & Princeton & Kenyon have their respective Theological Departments, and with due respect to your opinion—they do not tend to make these Institutions 'repulsive to those not theologically inclined.' . . . But I agree with you that we must all do our duty, sustain the Bishops, the Church and her institutions."

He was not adding strength to his argument by citing the fact that Yale and Princeton and Kenyon had their theological departments. It was all right, perhaps, in the case of Kenyon College, but Yale and Princeton were so much larger, that there was little danger of their theological departments assuming undue proportions in relation to the colleges themselves. As a matter of fact, it has always been difficult to convince the uninformed that Trinity College is not a divinity school. No doubt the name has something to do with that. Certain it is that few members of the classes for the past half century would view with regret the disconnection of the theological department from the college. Is that a commentary on our modern attitude towards religion?

It will be recalled that in his convention address for 1854, Bishop Williams reported that a petition had been presented to the legislature for a charter for this new institution which had moved to Middletown. The next year he was able to report that the charter had been granted, and the institution had been named "Berkeley Divinity School," which went into operation, under this charter, in October, 1854. Why it was given the name "Berkeley" will be obvious to those who are familiar with the story, particularly as it relates to America, of the great philosopher and educator, Bishop George Berkeley (1684-1753). Here we may quote this eloquent passage from Moses Coit Tyler (1835-1900):

"And, finally, we may hope that 'The Berkeley Divinity School' at Middletown, will be for many ages a monument—and something more productive than a monument—to the sacred and dear memory of that apostolic scholar, who, in an age of sensualists and of self-seekers, gave up all earthly pleasures and gains, and came forth over the sea, that he might found in America a college of which the chief purpose should be to train up young men worthily for the service of God's Church in the New World."¹⁵

¹⁵Monograph IV, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, by William Stevens Perry, D. D.

It is true that the Berkeley Divinity School in its location and in its character is not precisely the fulfillment of Bishop Berkeley's dream.

And so the school was established in Middletown, and there Bishop Williams was to live for the rest of his life, surrounded by his candidates, and training them for the work of the ministry. In his announcement of his intention to move to Middletown the bishop stated that an endowment "sufficient at least for all its present needs," would be forthcoming, and it was. Not only was the endowment given, but what was quite as important, a home for the school was given. It had nowhere to lay its head. On the corner of Main and Washington Streets stood the home of the Reverend Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis (1786-1851), son of Bishop Jarvis. It was formerly the Washington Hotel. Edward S. Hall, Esq., son-in-law of Dr. Jarvis, presented this house to the school. It was known as the Jarvis House. There was nothing palatial about it, though there were those who liked to speak of it as "The Palace," in the technical sense, that is, knowing quite well that the unassuming godly man who lived within was little affected by such terms, though he would grace the grand episcopal palace, even as he did the modest Jarvis House.

The Jarvis House was a square stuccoed building, three storied, surmounted by a cupola, which gave a bit of light and air to the two or three attic rooms, which, of course, were utilized, and which bore among the students the classic designation, Attica. On the first floor were the bishop's quarters, his study being on the northeast corner, while on the second floor were the lecture rooms and the library and the bishop's spare rooms. On the third floor were students' rooms, and the student who occupied one of the large corner rooms had abundant space in which to circulate, as did the cold air in winter time. But with the aid of a moderate sized cylinder coal stove, which the student fed and regulated according to his own ideas of temperature, he managed to keep reasonably comfortable. And always it was healthy exercise to transport the coal from the cellar.

On the Washington Street side was the entrance which led to the library and the students' quarters, as well as the lecture rooms. From this entry the door opened into the bishop's study, and through it the classes passed to his lectures. They took seats wherever they chose, first come, first served. The bishop was waiting, sitting in his accustomed chair, with the familiar purple dressing gown on, his gold-bowed spectacles high on his forehead, his nose buried deep in some book, as he sought a reference, presumably in that final moment, which he would use in his lecture, and then when it was found a certain swift motion of the forehead automatically dropped the spectacles into place on the

nose, and he was ready to begin, and then he expounded unto them, not the Scriptures like St. Paul, but doctrinal theology, ecclesiastical history, liturgics, and if the Scriptures failed to get in there somewhere it would be no fault of his. The study was lined with books from floor to ceiling, and all ceilings were high. Where there were no books there were historic engravings of places and of persons. If a book were needed in the course of the lecture, the bishop would jump up and with unerring instinct locate it on the shelf.

In the course of one of his lectures he had highly recommended Bishop Sanderson's (1587-1662) *Lectures on Conscience and Human Law*. A student was so interested that when he saw a copy advertised in a second hand catalogue he sent for it, and when it came it was all in Latin. The student mentioned the fact with evident disappointment to the bishop, who promptly said, "My copy is in English, and I will trade with you," with the result that the student got the bishop's own personal copy with his autograph, "J. Williams," in the right-hand corner of the title page, just where "G. Washington" autographed his books. Bishop Christopher Wordsworth (1807-1885), having selected these lectures as subjects for examination of candidates for holy orders, found to his regret that "the Latin language, in which they were written, operated as a hindrance to the study of them." It very often does. He removed this hindrance by this translation of the lectures into English, and no doubt increased the study of them.

With this one building, Jarvis Hall, the school started out on its career in Middletown. It was a modest set-up, but the bishop had friends, and it would not be long before it would be expanded, though that expansion would not be so rapid as to suggest an insecure mushroom growth. In 1860 there was added the "Wing-building," as it was called, to serve as a dormitory, and then in 1868 the "Wright House" was purchased, in which was the refectory and two or three rooms for students. A few years before this, in 1861, a beautiful little gothic chapel was given by Mrs. Mary W. Alsop Mütter, a memorial to her husband, Thomas Dent Mütter, M. D., which, quite appropriately, was dedicated to Saint Luke the Beloved Physician. As the chapel has gone and is only a memory, it may not be amiss to say that in it there were windows to the memory of Bishops Seabury, Jarvis, Brownell and Williams, and Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis. In 1896 there was erected a fine library building capable of housing all the books, as well as furnishing lecture rooms. It was named the Williams Library, but not until after the bishop's death, presumably in accordance with his wishes. This completed the physical expansion of the school.

As a rule, it is a heavy price we pay for the changes forced upon us by the onward sweep of events to meet new conditions and new opportunities. Incorporated and located in Middletown in 1854, after nearly three-quarters of a century it seemed to the authorities of the school that it would be greatly to its advantage to move elsewhere, and New Haven was the place chosen.¹⁶ The price paid was the loss of all those associations which clustered around the Berkeley of Middletown. Gone is the "Palace," and gone is the chapel, so lovingly associated with the school's great founder. That is the price paid, but we like to think that there are compensating benefits for the school and the Church. If this had to come we may be thankful that it did not come within the lifetime of Bishop Williams. It is doubtful if it would or could have come in his lifetime.

Now it should be remembered that while the bishop was profoundly interested in the school, and much occupied in placing it upon a sure foundation, no mean task in itself, yet he was also the assistant bishop of the diocese. That was his title until he became the bishop, because the terminology, "bishop coadjutor," did not find its way into the constitution of the Church until 1895. As assistant bishop he was carrying practically all the burden, because the infirmities of Bishop Brownell were increasing, and he was able to do but little, in fact for the last ten years of his life he seldom left Hartford. In his convention address ten years after his consecration Bishop Williams gives a brief summary of what he had done:

"Seven thousand six hundred and forty-four persons have received the laying on of hands.

Eighty-five candidates for Holy Orders have been ordained to the Diaconate.

Sixty-five Deacons have been ordained to the Priesthood.

Twenty-eight churches and chapels have been consecrated, and two which have been erected and are in use, are awaiting consecration; making thirty new churches and chapels in all.

Twenty-four churches have been re-opened after enlargements and improvements in various ways. So that fifty-four churches and chapels have been built, or re-edified and enlarged.

During the period under review, I have preached on one thousand four hundred and seventy-three occasions, delivered six hundred and two confirmation and other addresses, and administered the Holy Communion two hundred and twenty times."

In this same convention address, delivered June 11, 1861, it was inevitable that he should make some reference to the bitter internecine

¹⁶Removed to New Haven in 1928.

struggle which was then in its first stages. Quoting the Article of Religion which says that "we hold it to be the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel, to pay respectful obedience to the Civil Authority, regularly and legitimately constituted," he says, "patriotism, loyalty, every sentiment and every emotion, which man can know in his relations to the State, find their living utterance and only true life in loyal obedience to the lawful Government under which we live." Thus does he appeal to the Christian sense of his people for steadfast loyalty to the laws of the land in a time when that loyalty, on the part of many, was in danger of being disregarded for bitter sectional prejudice.

BECOMES BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE

We have come to the year 1865. For Bishop Williams that meant the beginning of a new chapter, for now he would exchange the title "assistant bishop" for that of "bishop." The change meant little more than that of change in title, for in effect he had been, for a decade, practically the bishop of the diocese. On January 13, 1865, Bishop Brownell's long and useful life came to an end. He was eighty-four years old. To Bishop Williams his death was a sad break with the past. All his life in the Episcopal Church had been under the inspiration and guidance of this venerated father in God. Confirmed by him, ordained deacon, priest, consecrated bishop, that is the record. It is due to Bishop Brownell and to Bishop Williams that this beautiful passage from the latter's convention address should be quoted here:

"This is no place to speak of the long course of affectionate intercourse, unbroken by even a passing ripple, which God gave me with him, but which is ended now. Still I must ask the privilege to utter in your ears, and to place on the records of the Diocese, the declaration of my grateful, filial love for my dear, departed Bishop and Father, and of my deep sense of how much I owe to his unchanging kindness. For all of us I can say, that, 'being dead,' he yet speaks to us in his pure example, his meek and gentle life, and the sacred thoughts that cluster round his blessed memory."

This year 1865 was memorable not only for the diocese but for the nation. The four years of bitter civil war had come to an end, and with it the tragic death of the Chief Magistrate of the nation. The great sadness which settled upon the hearts of men was lightened by the thought that peace had come at last, and now there could be a return to the normal way of life, and the shattered fragments could be pieced together again.

In his first address after he became the bishop of the diocese he brought forward a matter which had evidently been smouldering in his mind for some time. He says:

"There is one subject more of which, before I close, I feel it my duty to speak to you. I have taken no counsel—save of my own conscience and of God—in doing so; what I speak, I speak of myself. It seems to me that we ought to be looking forward now, to the erection of a new See within the limits of this present Diocese." He has no pet theory on this subject, nor do "I wish to lessen my own labors or to give myself ease and leisure," but he advocates it as "a legitimate outgrowth of Church life, and Church extension, intensifying the one and expanding the other."

The convention gave proper and respectful consideration to the matter, but its report was adverse to the proposition. Later when advocated by Bishop Chauncey B. Brewster (1848-1941) it met the same fate.¹⁷ There were and there are several reasons why it does not commend itself to the convention, the principal one being that from the standpoints of population, and, in a measure, of topography, the diocese does not lend itself to division. The strength lies mainly to the west of the Connecticut River. And then, too, Connecticut is a small and compact state, and is of such significance in the history of the American Church that it much prefers to retain its solidarity as a diocese. That way lies its strength and its importance.

In 1861, on the tenth anniversary of his election to the episcopate, he gave a summary to the convention of what had been accomplished during the decade. Now ten years later, in 1871, he does the same thing. We need not repeat those statistics. They show steady and substantial progress, or, to use his phrase, "a steady and abiding growth." He tells his people that "the average duration of an American episcopate is, I believe, fifteen years. I never could have wished, either for your sake or my own, that mine should prove any exception to the rule. It has, however, been prolonged beyond the average line. But its end must now be nearer, probably much nearer, than its beginning is." But that is something we cannot forecast. As a matter of fact, the beginning of his episcopate was twenty years away, its end twenty-eight. Perhaps this note of doubt was due to the fact that for a good part of the year he had been laid aside from active duty by illness. Indeed after a severe sickness in 1851, he seems to have had the feeling that he was not destined for a long life.

¹⁷Journal of the Diocese, 1909, p. 69.

The year 1872 brought to him a heavy sorrow. His mother had made her home with him, and had made his home. She died May 29th in her eightieth year. It was a beautiful devotion which the son had for his mother, as he tenderly watched over her through the years of her failing strength. How beautifully does he speak to his convention of his great sorrow:

"I hardly know whether I ought to give utterance here to any thoughts personal to myself, and touching on God's providential dealings with me and mine. And yet I do not think you will blame me for them, or be unwilling to read the few words which I cannot trust myself to speak to you. . . . Since this great shadow began—years ago—to fall upon my path, there have been times when it was hard for me to settle the relative claims of affection and duty in my home and in my charge. . . . I owe it to one who is gone from earth to say to you, that in her mind my duty to my Diocese was ever uppermost, and every claim on her part was willingly postponed to that."

The Rev. Dr. Horace B. Hitchings (1830-1917) gives a very touching incident in connection with her death, which is quoted in Bishop Potter's *Reminiscences of Bishops and Archbishops*.¹⁸ He says: "It was the day of the annual ordination of the graduating class of the Berkeley Divinity School.¹⁹ Of course the bishop must be present to ordain, but his mother was dying and he could not leave her bedside. It was arranged that he was not to attend the service but to be notified when the time came for the act of ordination. Before it came, however, while the service was in progress, the spirit of his mother departed, and the bishop, almost broken-hearted, bowed down with grief, hastened to the church, stepped into the chancel, and knelt at the altar."

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS EPISCOPATE

The year 1876 was an anniversary year for the bishop, for twenty-five years before he was elected and consecrated assistant bishop of the diocese of Connecticut. The election took place in St. John's Church, Waterbury, and in 1876 the annual convention met there in deference to the bishop's wishes. As he says, "I felt the strong desire to call you together on this anniversary in the same place where the Convention sat on a day so memorable to me." His address was a review of the work of the twenty-five years of his episcopate, recording such statistics as he deemed necessary to give right perspective, for, as he says, "I am not fond of overmuch in the way of statistics."

¹⁸Journal of the Diocese, p. 44.

¹⁹May 29, 1872.

Of course the convention took appropriate steps to mark the anniversary. A committee was appointed to consider that part of the bishop's address, the committee to consist of the rectors of twenty-five years' standing in the diocese. There were six who qualified under that condition.²⁰ A congratulatory address, to be signed by the clergy, wardens, and vestry of the several parishes of the diocese, was authorized to be presented to him. But that was not the only way in which the convention proposed to mark the anniversary, for a committee was appointed to raise funds for such "memorial as they shall deem suitable to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the election of our Diocesan." At the next convention the committee reported that they had "agreed unanimously upon the memorial and upon the amount necessary to create it, but they have been deterred from all efforts to make collections, by the extraordinary pressure of the times, and they beg for a continuance until the annual convention of 1878."

The final report came in 1882, and it was to the effect that the committee "had placed in the hands of the bishop the sum of five thousand dollars, for his own personal use." In his convention address he refers to it in this gracious way: "I received, a few days since, a generous gift, sent to me with words of kindness far beyond my deserts. My dear brethren, there are times when it is difficult to say what one's heart would prompt. If my imperfect labors have met your approval, it is more than I could hope. You will, I am sure, believe me when I say that this proof of it can only strengthen the one purpose of my life, to give to the Diocese and its beloved clergy and people, all that God has put it in my power to give. The wish has been communicated to me that I would regard this gift as a personal one. I am willing so far to meet this wish as to invest it in such manner as that, after I am gone, it may in some form and way, be made useful to the Diocese and its work."²¹

There was another anniversary about this time which had particular significance for the bishop. In this year, 1879, the annual ordination at Berkeley Divinity School was marked by an interesting event. Let us take Dr. E. E. Beardsley's account of it as it appears in his diary for June 4th of that year. He says:

"A large number of clergy, about seventy, and others present. Bishop Doane²² of the diocese of Albany preached the

²⁰They were the Reverend Messrs. Jacob L. Clark (1807-1877), Benjamin M. Yarrington (1812-1898), Lorenzo T. Bennett (1805-1889), Giles H. Deshon (1820-1883), E. Edwards Beardsley (1808-1891), and William E. Vibbert (1814-1895).

²¹He left all his property to Berkeley Divinity School.

²²William Croswell Doane (1832-1913).

sermon, and seven persons were ordained deacons. After the services were ended the clergy and friends of the School assembled in S. Luke's Chapel when a portrait procured at a cost of about \$1,500 (nineteen hundred contributors) was presented to the Bishop as the head of the Berkeley Divinity School to be the property of the Diocese and to be committed to the Trustees of the Berkeley School. Rev. Mr. Nelson (1840-1928)²³ in behalf of the Com^{tee} having the matter in charge read the presentation and accompanied it with suitable remarks. I followed with a brief congratulatory address for the presenters & to both of us the Bishop made an impressive reply. Then came an address from Bishop Niles (1832-1914) with a token from the alumni marking the 25th anniversary of the School, and again the Bishop made a very feeling reply, which closed the exercises."

That portrait was painted by Daniel Huntington (1816-1906). Later an engraving was made from it, which found its way into the homes of many of the Church people of Connecticut, and into many of the parish houses. Among those on the committee to arrange for the engraving was Dr. Beardsley, also Dr. William Tatlock (1833-1896) of Stamford. As is so apt to be the case more prints were made than were needed, and copies were distributed among the members of the committee to sell as they were able. When Dr. Beardsley was about to sail for Scotland in 1884, he received a letter from Dr. Tatlock bidding him farewell, in which was this playful postscript: "Take a few of the engravings, and let it be known where more can be had,

'For though on pleasure B. was bent
He had a frugal mind.'

A representative Connecticut man should have an eye to business. The Scotch will appreciate it."

THE SEABURY CENTENARY

That reference to Scotland brings to mind an important anniversary in the history of the Church, and particularly in the history of the diocese of Connecticut, which received generous consideration. The General Convention of 1880 provided

"That a joint Committee of three Bishops, three Presbyters, and three Laymen be appointed to sit during the recess, and to report to the next Triennial Convention a detailed plan or plans for the full and proper observance of the Centennial

²³Rev. Henry W. Nelson, Berkeley, 1862.

Anniversaries of the first Bishops of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York, and the completion of the organization of the General Convention, the ratification of the Book of Common Prayer, and the adoption of the Constitution of the Church."

This committee was appointed and Bishop Williams of Connecticut was made its chairman.

But he had something in mind more specifically related to Connecticut, and so in his convention address for 1881, he says:

"In this Diocese we shall have a Centennial Anniversary which will fall earlier than the next General Convention and which, therefore, cannot be considered by the Joint Committee; an anniversary which, I think, ought not to be neglected. I mean that of the election of our first Bishop at Woodbury, in the last week of March, 1783. I suggest the appointment by this Convention of a Committee to provide for the appropriate commemoration of that memorable act, which was so true and great a venture of faith."

In line with his suggestion a Committee was appointed, "whose duty it shall be to co-operate with the committee of the General Convention, so far as relates to the centenary commemoration of the consecration of Rev. Dr. Seabury, and the erection of the first see in the United States; and also to present to the diocesan conventions of 1883 and 1884, if they shall deem it expedient, a detailed plan or plans for the further observances, as a diocese, of the centenary commemoration of Dr. Seabury's consecration, of the first convocation summoned by him, of the first ordination on this continent, and of any ecclesiastical events which are specially and historically connected with this diocese, and which it may be deemed desirable to celebrate."

That certainly presaged a celebration of unusual moment, and so it turned out to be. The festival of the Annunciation, the day on which Dr. Seabury was elected, fell on Easter Day in 1883, and to gather the clergy on that day was, of course, out of the question. But on Tuesday, March 27th, the day of the week on which Annunciation fell in 1783, came the first of the commemorative observances. Bishop Williams preached the sermon from the text, I Chronicles XII, 32—"Men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do." Later all the sermons and addresses relating to the observance were published in book form.²⁴ There were six sermons and addresses of Bishop Williams, marking the observance here in Connecticut. They were commemorative of the different aspects of the whole episode, and form an

²⁴*Seabury Centenary, 1883-1885, Diocese of Connecticut, 195 pp.*

extremely interesting and informative chapter in our Connecticut Church history.

But the main celebration was yet to come, the celebration of the consecration in Aberdeen. In his convention address for 1884, the bishop says: "I have received an invitation to be present at Aberdeen, Scotland, during the first week in October next, and to take part in the celebration of the centenary of the consecration of our first Bishop. This invitation I have, after much hesitation, decided, with your consent, my brethren, to accept."

And he adds: "I am to be the bearer of an address to the Episcopate of Scotland from the House of Bishops in this country; and it would be peculiarly gratifying to my feelings, as well as most seemingly in itself considered, could I also carry out an address from our own convention." Of course he had but to make the suggestion and his wish was fulfilled. The Rev. E. Edwards Beardsley (1808-1891), the Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis (1825-1910), the Rev. Samuel Hart (1845-1917), and the Rev. William F. Nichols (1849-1924), were appointed by the convention to represent the diocese at the centenary celebration in Aberdeen, and to present to the Scottish bishops an address in the name of the convention.

On July 19, 1884, the deputation led by Bishop Williams set out for Scotland. They were not due in Aberdeen until the first week in October. After a visit to London they started on their way northward, visiting places of interest as they went. It savored somewhat of a triumphal progress, because of the desire on the part of the English people to pay homage to Bishop Williams. He did not escape paying the price, for there were frequent invitations to preach, and he accepted them as he could.

On their way they visited Forfar, their special object being to see Glamis Castle, the seat of the Earl of Strathmore. It was here that Prince Charles Edward found refuge, and here Walter Scott lodged for a night. It is a good guess that the bishop, ever fond of Scott, suggested Forfar in their itinerary. Two of the party went to call on the incumbent. They soon found him, and he proved to be an enthusiastic Scottish clergyman, "who was overjoyed to see an American bishop and a party of American clergymen, such a thing never having been known in Forfar as a visit of this kind."

Dr. Beardsley's journal gives us this further note about Forfar and the incumbent. He says: "We breakfasted with him the next morning, looked into his church, and then proceeded to the station, but every now and then he would stop and introduce some man or woman to the bishop as an American curiosity. He brought into the sitting room at

our hotel the night before the chief man of his church and four fair daughters whom he had enthused with his own feelings."

Going on from Forfar the party went to Aberdeen, Bishop Williams being the guest of the bishop of Aberdeen. On Tuesday morning, October 7th, was the real beginning of the anniversary commemoration. Bishop Williams preached the sermon, and Dr. Beardsley's comment was that it was "worthy of the man and of the occasion." At the meeting of the synod, immediately following this service, the address to the Scottish bishops from the American bishops was presented through Bishop Williams, and a reply was read by Bishop Charles Wordsworth (1806-1892), of St. Andrews, Dunkeld and Dunblane. And then came the address from the bishop, clergy and laity of the diocese of Connecticut, read by Dr. Beardsley.

At this service there was an exchange of gifts between the Scottish and American Churches, from the American Church a memorial paten and chalice, from the Scottish Church, a pastoral staff. Bishop Williams in receiving it spoke eloquently and affectionately, the tears rolling down his cheeks.

"Men pass away, the office lives on, and though many hands that shall have held this staff may by that time be folded in the sleep of death, I trust that when the hundred years come round again, my successor may come here, as I, Bishop Seabury's successor, have come, to offer to the Bishops of the Scottish Church, to its clergy, and its faithful laity, the assurance of his deep love and undying gratitude that they were bound together in one common bond of one holy faith, and in a common love of one living Lord and of each other."

That pastoral staff is one of the prized possessions of the diocese of Connecticut, and is used by its bishop on all state occasions. A full description of it may be found in the Scottish report of the Seabury Centenary. As in the case of the Connecticut celebration all the sermons and addresses and accounts of the various doings of the celebration were published in book form, and make a most valuable addition to the story of the centennial proceedings.²⁵ The commemoration is over and Bishop Williams and his companions leave Aberdeen for home. On the Grampian hills lies the new-fallen snow, reminder of the coming of winter, but in their hearts still lingers the warmth of precious memories of new-found friends, memories which shall never fade out while life shall last.

²⁵*Centenary of the Consecration of the Right Reverend Samuel Seabury, D. D.*, 215 pp.

BACK HOME AGAIN

The bishop wrote many letters home, and kept a diary. Some of the letters²⁶ have been published and a portion of the diary.²⁷ Back home again where he was glad to be, the diary ends on this note: "I am thankful to have gone on such an errand, tho' I always was oppressed with feeling how much better than I did another might have done, and I can never forget the occasion of the great kindness shown me—not as I well knew on my account but because I was Seabury's successor. It was an occasion greater than one supposed till one came to it: in its memories, in present gifts of God, in outlook for the future." It is not for us to evaluate the respective merits of the two men in their bid for the kindness and affection of the people of the Church of Scotland. Only do we know that none better than a Williams could have represented the old diocese or Connecticut on this historic occasion, whatever he may have thought or said.

Back again in Middletown, happy as a child with a new toy, the old routine was resumed. But first he must make a report to his convention, and that he did through the medium of the sermon which he preached at the opening of the convention of 1885. This was the last of the group of commemorative sermons.

The year 1886 was a General Convention year, and the convention was held in Chicago. For some reason the bishop seems to have dreaded that convention, not that he was ever too keen about any of them, but that he ventured to predict "would be the most disagreeable convention we ever had." Whether the facts justified that prediction, only a study of the journal would indicate, and that might not, for, as a rule, journals are very cold and impersonal, and little beyond the bare facts is revealed. In making his preparations to attend he writes to one of the deputies expressing his pleasure that they are to be at the same hotel, that he had rather thought of another hotel, but was told by a gentleman whom he met on the Caledonian Canal, that there were too many rats there. He would have his little fun, hence this short poem:

"Blown up with dynamite; eaten by rat;
Stifled with sewer gas; choked with pork fat;
Deafened with speeches of foe and of friend;
Maddened by cranks who prate without end;
Out in Chicago, O! what a fix
Waits the Convention of eighty and six!"

²⁶*Some Reminiscences of Bishop Williams* by Charles E. Jackson.

²⁷*Memories Here and There of John Williams, D. D., LL.D.*, by William Ford Nichols, D. D., Bishop of California.

The year 1887 was to bring new and larger responsibilities to him. On April 12th of that year, the presiding bishop, Bishop Alfred Lee (1807-1887) of Delaware, died. The rule of seniority then prevailed, and Bishop Williams was next in line. He was then seventy years old, old enough to appreciate the additional burden which the office brought. It was he who first suggested to the House of Bishops the advisability of designating some other bishop than the oldest in order of consecration to be the presiding bishop. At the special session of the House of Bishops in October, 1887, he says, in his communication to the House:

"The conviction has long been growing upon me, that our existing arrangement in regard to the presidency of the House of Bishops is, for many reasons an undesirable one. The position in which I find myself today strengthens that conviction, and changes belief to certainty. . . . To lay such a burden on the shoulders of the oldest Bishop of this House, one likely to be the oldest in years as well as by consecration, is surely something which would not be thought of in parallel cases in political, judicial, or business arrangements."

This is no theoretical matter with the bishop. He is speaking out of his experience. He asked the House of Bishops to take the subject into consideration and report thereon. This was in 1887. In 1919 the proper amendment to the constitution was adopted, and henceforth the presiding bishop was an elective office. It took thirty-two years to accomplish that seemingly desirable object. The first elected presiding bishop was the bishop of Maryland, the Right Reverend John Gardner Murray (1857-1929).

The year 1888 marked the completion of fifty years in the ministry for the bishop. The standing committee had it in mind to make some recognition of this fact, and consulted him about it. The following gracious letter to Dr. Samuel Hart, a member of the committee, gives the bishop's reaction to the suggestion.

"Middletown,
Aug. 15th, 1888.

My dear Professor,

While I thank the Standing Committee very much for their kindly taking thought for the fiftieth anniversary of my ordination to the Diaconate, I cannot but shrink from any public service on that day.

There is so much to be sorry for, so much to lament of short-coming and failure, that I would rather spend the day by myself, in solitude and silence, than in any other way.

While, therefore, I am very grateful for the kindness which

prompted the thought of some service, I must beg that it may be given up.

Faithfully yours

J. WILLIAMS

The Rev.
Prof. Hart."

How very characteristic that was! The committee had to content itself by "requesting the president to prepare on behalf of this committee a letter of affectionate congratulation to the bishop of the diocese on the completion of the fiftieth year of his ministry, and of their gratitude to the Head of the Church for the efficient service which he has been permitted to render as the teacher and chief pastor of this diocese, as well as in the highest office of the Church in the United States."²⁸

Could the letters, which the bishop wrote to comfort and encourage those in need of consolation, be brought out from the places where they are treasured, what a precious volume they would make! One such follows, which may be included here without any impropriety. It is to the daughter of Dr. E. E. Beardsley, and is so beautiful that it may well come into the story as typical of the grace and charm of his fatherly messages of love and sympathy.²⁹

"Middletown,
Dec. 22^d 1892.

My dear Elisabeth,

I cannot, and I need not, tell you what a dreadful blow to me your dear father's departure is. No words can tell it. But I must not think of myself, and I try not to, when I think of you. And yet how can I help thinking of those 40 years of unbroken confidence and friendship? It does not often fall to the lot of the bishop to have such a friend and counsellor as your dear father has been to me. I could wish, if I dared to, that I might end my own days and lie down beside him, as we have lived side by side.

God knows best! but I prayed for his life as I could not pray for my own.

Full of years and full of honors, with God's approval and with man's reverent regard, he has gone to his rest; faithful to the end!

May God comfort you my dear child as He only can! All the comfort that human sympathy can give, and human affection can give you have abundantly. And you have his life besides.

These are poor words, I know; but what can I say? The very fulness of the heart sometimes shuts the lips.

God bless and keep you!

Your most affc friend

J. WILLIAMS.

²⁸For this letter and the bishop's answer, see journal of diocese for 1889, p. 41.

²⁹In the possession of the author.

In the days before the automobile, the bishop sought, when once on the move, to accomplish as much as he could in any particular section. Consequently he was very apt to make Dr. Beardsley's home his headquarters. Always there was a room for him there, and the study was a place where he could appoint meetings and hold conferences, and there the standing committee met repeatedly, when Dr. Beardsley was its president, and he was its president for eighteen years. Of course he was told, after Dr. Beardsley's death, that he could use the study as of old, and his response was that "It is a real comfort to me to think that I can still come as of long time past to what has been a real home to me in New Haven."

TOWARDS THE END; CONSECRATION OF DR. BREWSTER

The opening paragraph of his convention address for 1897 is prophetic of what is happening. It says: "This is the first time since I was consecrated in 1851 that I find myself unable to take my place in our annual Convention. For forty-five years it has been my privilege and pleasure at those seasons to take counsel with you concerning the welfare of this ancient and beloved Diocese. Now, in the Providence of God, it is otherwise ordered; and I have to transmit to you by the hand of another my annual address." He never did take his place in the convention again. Assistance came to him on October 28th, 1897, when the Rev. Dr. Chauncey Bunce Brewster (1848-1941) was consecrated bishop coadjutor of the diocese. And just as he had assumed the burden of the work in the last days of Bishop Brownell's episcopate, so did Bishop Brewster assume the burden of the work in his last days, though not for so long a time. It was with feeling that he said: "The election of a Coadjutor has been an inexpressible relief to me in bearing a burden which would otherwise have been a crushing load."

But the end was approaching. In his convention address for 1898, which was his last, he says: "I have been incapacitated for any service during the conventional year. Indeed, I have not left my house during that time." From his bed he was able to carry on his classes almost to the end. But on February 7th, 1899, the light went out, and the Church lost its great leader, and the diocese of Connecticut added another name to its honored roll of departed bishops.

True to his character to the very end, his "Directions for my Executors"³⁰ show the same simplicity which had marked all his life. On the headstone at his grave in Indian Hill Cemetery, Middletown, Connecticut, nothing was to be placed but his name and date of death. And those

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instructions were carefully carried out. But later on, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Hart, who would be the last man in the world to go against the wishes of Bishop Williams, feeling that that was utterly inadequate, on his own responsibility and probably at his own expense, had the words added, "Fourth Bishop of Connecticut, Presiding Bishop of the Church in United States." Every friend of the bishop will be grateful to Dr. Hart for that act of "disobedience," if disobedience it was.

This reference to his "Directions for my Executors," is a reminder of what one of his executors wrote, namely, "that he explicitly directed them to destroy every letter, sermon, etc., that we might find among his effects, but for this injunction there was slight necessity, as he had effectively attended to it himself." One wonders if it would have been very wrong if they had failed to *find* everything.

In the earlier days of his ministry, and perhaps even down to the days when he became a bishop, he carefully wrote out his sermons, and the result was a very neat and attractive manuscript, in small book form with a stiff, shiny black cover. In the light of what has just been said, there are probably very few of those manuscript sermons in existence. There is one which has just recently come into the archives of the diocese, and this is the story of its rescue from the hand of the "destroyer."

It was the practice of the divinity students to do lay-reading in the near-by parishes, and they often depended upon the bishop to furnish them with one of his sermons. The Reverend Arthur Gammack (1871-1927) found himself in need of a sermon one Saturday, and he went to the bishop to see if he could assist him. The bishop pointing to a drawer said, "there they are, help yourself." And Gammack made his selection. In those days the canon definitely provided that a lay-reader "shall not deliver sermons of his own composition." To-day that provision has been somewhat relaxed. Before that manuscript was returned the bishop died. His executor made no suggestion as to its disposition, and it ultimately found its way into the archives of the diocese. As there are so few strictly Williams manuscripts there, for the reason noted above, it is something of a treasure.

This leads one to say something about the bishop's writings. A check list would show a substantial body of works of one kind or another. There are a number of volumes, and notes for the use of his students in the lecture room. Had he not been the busy bishop that he was his literary output would have been very much larger, and the Church would have been very much deeper in his debt. His style was clear, concise, and graceful, and he possessed the true poetic instinct which manifested itself both in his writing and preaching.

He was a frequent contributor to the Church papers, and particularly to the *Church Review*.³¹ The Reverend Doctor Nathaniel S. Richardson (1810-1883), in taking leave of the *American Quarterly Church Review*, as its editor says: "Especially do we here, publicly and most gratefully, return our thanks to the Rt. Reverend, the Bishop of Connecticut, who has never withheld his counsel, and, although he has never assumed the slightest degree of responsibility, yet his valuable contributions, on many most important subjects, have done much to give interest and permanent worth to our pages." An examination of the volumes of the *Review* from 1849 to 1865 will show some twelve articles which can be identified, and they are not all.

Of course to the bishop of a diocese often comes the invitation to preach anniversary and memorial sermons and to Bishop Williams frequently came the opportunity to do just that, and those printed sermons and addresses, brought together, make a good sized volume. All in all the output of his writings was large.

He was not a man who espoused numerous and various "causes," however good they might be. The fact of the matter was that it was necessary for him to confine himself strictly to his duties as bishop and head of the school. Connecticut is one of the large dioceses in the country, exceeded only by New York and Pennsylvania; not large in area (it is about five thousand square miles), but large in the number of its parishes and missions. Bishop Williams administered it alone until within a year and a half of his death.

In his time it was not the simple matter to get about the diocese that it is to-day. To nearby places his conveyance was likely to be the horse and buggy, with a student as driver, to distant places it was the railroad. In either case much time was consumed in transit. He was wont laughingly to say that most of his life was passed in the station at Hawleyville Junction. It was from that point that the Shepaug branch line started its tortuous way into the heart of picturesque Litchfield County, where there were important parishes to be visited.

The bishop's study was his office, if we may presume to use such a strictly business term in connection with him. There was nothing of the high pressure executive about him. A student usually performed the necessary secretarial work. The picture, then, is that of a simple, strong, unhurried life, always fully occupied, but wholly free from that nervous fussiness, which is not infrequently mistaken for real activity.

No account of Bishop Williams' life would be complete without some reference to his extraordinary influence with young men. We see

³¹See *American Quarterly Church Review* for names of writers in vols. ix-xvii, p. 165.

this back in his Schenectady days, when, as rector of St. George's, he worked among the students of Union College, and then later, of course, at Trinity College. When it was his duty, as chancellor, to give his lectures on history at the college, it was a familiar sight, when the class broke up, to see him, silk-hatted and aproned, sauntering down the campus walk under the elms, the center of a laughing happy group, he himself the cause of all the mirth with some apt and delightful story or anecdote, which he always seemed to enjoy as much as his young companions. And then at Berkeley, of course, he was the strong magnet which drew men there, and when they were there, drew from them a loyalty which was intensely personal—yes—but which led on to the larger loyalty to the Church.

Such is the story, in brief, of JOHN WILLIAMS, a great man and a great bishop, a great bishop because a great man, whose likeness has been so unerringly drawn in those beautiful lines of the poet:³²

“Would I describe a preacher, such as Paul,
Were he on earth, would hear, approve and own,
Paul should himself direct me. I would trace
His master-strokes and draw from his design.
I would express him simple, grave, sincere;
In doctrine, uncorrupt; in language, plain,
And plain in manner; decent, solemn, chaste,
And natural in gesture; much impressed
Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
And anxious mainly that the flock he feeds
May feel it too; affectionate in look,
And tender in address, as well becomes
A messenger of grace to guilty men.”

³²*The Task*, by William Cowper, Book II, line 395.

THOMAS MORRITT, SCHOOLMASTER
AT THE CHARLESTON FREE SCHOOL, 1723-1728

*By Helen E. Livingston**

The phenomenal story of public education in the United States has, of necessity, been so largely concerned with counting results that little time has remained for assessing its colonial roots. The New England schoolhouse, with its primer and handbook, has attained a well-deserved paragraph or two in this story. But so largely unexplored is the history of public schools in all of the thirteen colonies, that the assumption is sometimes made that the Revolution was conceived and the country founded by a people largely illiterate unless self-taught. This idea of ignorance is due partly to the transitory nature of those early schools, partly to a lack of records or a failure to use them, partly to the fact that public education in this country, like agriculture, business, and industry, has developed so rapidly and so spontaneously that its beginnings have been buried under the luxuriousness of growth.

The record of the school conducted by Thomas Morritt in Charleston, South Carolina, between 1723 and 1728 is but a fragment of this story. But if some of Morritt's problems were unique to himself and his times, the larger significance of this Anglican schoolmaster, of his day by day problems in the schoolroom, in the community, and with public officials, is revelatory of the experience of many of his kind, and, as such, forms an important footnote to accounts of colonial education. Indeed the role of the Anglican Church in furnishing schoolmasters, books, and piece-meal instruction on the American frontier during the eighteenth century remains largely unassessed.¹ The Church of England, through the missionary organization of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,² sponsored an educational program in all of its 202 central stations throughout the American colonies. Thomas Morritt was but one of dozens of men sent out from England for the

*The author is Research Assistant in the University of California at Los Angeles.—*Editor's note.*

¹For an account of the influence of Anglicanism on the school system of the state of New York, see William Webb Kemp, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (New York, 1919). Similar studies on the other colonies are indicated by a perusal of the records of this Society.

²Hereinafter referred to as the S. P. G. or the Society.

express purpose of conducting schools, and his reports back to London not only gave to the home office of the Society a picture of his own school, but guided the organization in the establishment of other schools from Newfoundland to Barbados.

Before proceeding with the detailed account of the school in Charleston, some review of the English background for the venture is in order. For Morritt's school may be said to be an outgrowth of an interest in Christian education for the children of the poor which was to manifest itself not only in the colonies, but in the home isles as well. Mary G. Jones, in her summary work, *The Charity School Movement in the XVIIIth Century*, has called attention to the common tendency in England to date provisions for elementary education from 1870, or from the foundation of the National and the British and Foreign School Societies in the early nineteenth century, thus obscuring "the efforts of educational enthusiasts throughout the eighteenth century to provide a means of free education for the lower orders in the four countries of the British Isles."³ Almost at the turn of the eighteenth century evidence of a revival of interest in simple schools of an elementary type began to show itself. Such schools had flourished in medieval times, under the influence of cathedrals and monasteries, of priests in chantries, and in religious and industrial guilds. The Reformation had attacked the ecclesiastical foundations of these earlier schools, and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, concern for schools for the humbler folk had remained dormant.

The new problems of crime and youthful delinquency, waywardness and brutality, which accompanied the movement into the towns of England during this period, suggested education as one means of reform to the enlightened individuals who were beginning to set the pattern for eighteenth-century reformers in all fields.⁴ And in 1699, under the influence of Dr. Thomas Bray, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge⁵ was founded with an express purpose of setting up schools "for teaching poor children . . . to read and write and repeat the Church Catechism."⁶ The guiding principles of this organization are well set forth in the form of a subscription to charity schools adopted on March 16, 1699, which read:

³M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement in the XVIIIth Century* (Cambridge, England, 1938), 3-4.

⁴For an able account of the humanitarian mood in the eighteenth century, see Frank J. Klingberg, "The Evolution of the Humanitarian Spirit in Eighteenth Century England," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (July, 1942), LXVI, 260-278.

⁵Hereinafter referred to as the S. P. C. K.

⁶M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, 38.

Whereas it is evident to common observation that the growth of Vice and Debauchery is greatly owing to the gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian Religion, especially among the poorer sort. And also whereas Christian vertue can grow from no other root than Christian Principles, we . . . being touched with zeal for the honour of God . . . do hereby promise to pay⁷

Financed by joint-stock company methods of subscription and management, this organization set up approximately 1,300 charity schools⁸ in the British Isles, with the Bible and the catechism as the chief textbooks, supplemented by such additional works as *The Whole Duty of Man*.

The importance of this background in England to the career of Thomas Morritt in Charleston will not be underestimated when it is remembered that the S. P. C. K. was the parent organization from which, in 1701, the S. P. G. was formed. As the older organization confined its efforts largely to the home isles, the newly-formed society was especially concerned with the colonies, notably the English Plantations in America. Its missionaries were charged in their instructions "to encourage the setting up of Schools for the teaching of Children."⁹ It would be expected, therefore, that the books and curriculum developed by the S. P. C. K. would be adapted to the colonial scene.¹⁰

By 1706 the home office of the S. P. G. in London had drawn up a set of "Instructions for Schoolmasters employed by the Society," and was ready to launch its educational program side by side with its missionary enterprise. These rules may here be repeated at some length for their light on the curriculum of the schools, as well as for their requirements of their teachers:

I. That they [the schoolmasters] well consider the End for which they are employed by the Society, viz., The instructing and disposing Children to believe and live as Christians.

II. In order to this End, that they teach them to read truly and distinctly, that they may be capable of reading the Holy Scriptures, and other pious and usefull Books, for informing their Understandings, and regulating their Manners.

⁷Quoted from M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, p. 38.

⁸Although no exact records are available as to the real extent of the establishments, Miss Jones quotes the figure of 1329 schools in 1723. By 1818, according to Lord Brougham's figures, there were 18,500 day schools in England and Wales at which 644,000 children received instruction. Brougham's figures do not, of course, differentiate S. P. C. K. schools.

⁹Frederick Dalcho, *Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (Charleston, 1820), 47.

¹⁰For an able account of these schools in operation, in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, see Mary G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, *passim*.

IV. That they teach them to write a plain and legible Hand, in order to the fitting them for useful Employments; with as much Arithmetick as shall be necessary to the same Purpose.

IX. That they take especial care of their Manners, both in their Schools and out of them . . . teaching them [the children] to abhor Lying and Falsehood and to avoid all sorts of Evil-speaking. . . .

X. That they use all kind and gentle Methods in the Government of their Scholars, that they may be loved as well as feared by them; and that when Correction is necessary, they make the Children to understand, that it is given them out of kindness for their Good, bringing them to a Sense of their Fault, as well of as their Punishment.¹¹

If the tone of the schools was heavily on the side of Anglicanism, then it must be remembered that religion was generally accepted as the proper base for curriculum. And the central fact remains that thousands of underprivileged children were thus enabled to read and write and cast accounts, as much for their own improvement as for the glory of God.

The colony of South Carolina had likewise made provision for the public education of children. On April 8, 1710, an act was passed by the colonial assembly "for the Founding and Erecting of a Free School, for the use of the Inhabitants of South Carolina." A reflection of the earlier concern for the youth of the province, as expressed by bequests and legacies left for the purpose, is contained in the preamble of this act which read:

Whereas, it is necessary that a Free School be erected for the instruction of the youth of this Province in grammar and other arts and sciences and useful learning, and also in the principles of the christian religion; and whereas several charitable and well disposed Christians, by their last wills and testaments, have given several sums of money for the founding a free school, but no person is yet authorized to take the charge and care of erecting a free school . . . Be it therefore enacted . . .¹²

While the schoolmaster was required to be "of the religion of the Church of England," already the established church of the colony, the commissioners appointed to set this act in motion comprised the leading men of all parties in the provinces, Anglicans, dissenters, and Huguenots. This act was revised in the Free School Act of December 12, 1712,

¹¹C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* (London, 1901), 844-845.

¹²Thomas Cooper, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia, South Carolina), II, 342-346.

which provided a salary of £100 per annum and a dwelling house for the schoolmaster, and specified that twelve scholars were to be taught free. Section XIV provided further that "Any person giving £20 may nominate one scholar to be taught free for 5 years," but for other scholars the master was to be paid at the rate of £4 colonial currency per annum. The course prescribed included classical languages, arithmetic with instruction in the arts of navigation and surveying, and "merchants accounts."¹³

On January 27, 1712, the Rev. William Guy had been sent by the S. P. G., at the request of the government of South Carolina, to conduct the school in Charleston.¹⁴ The Society had looked well into the abilities Mr. Guy, before appointing him to the post. He held an M. A. degree and had previously been employed as an usher in the London workhouse, where he had "the Character of a very sober, modest young man . . . and a pretty good Grecian and Humanist . . . from his Infancy he had always been either Learning at or teaching School."¹⁵ Guy arrived in Charleston on June 10, 1712, but remained as master for only a short time, being removed to a missionary charge in St. Helen's parish.¹⁶ He was succeeded by John Whitehead in 1714.

The free school thus established was to continue until it was broken up by the American Revolution in 1776, but colonial affairs sometimes interfered with its conduct. For the first decade of the century the colony of South Carolina was not only embroiled with the political controversy between dissenters and Anglicans which had prompted Daniel Defoe to write his tract, *Party-Tyranny: or An Occasional Bill in Miniature; as now Practiced in Carolina*,¹⁷ but it was further subject to threats by the French and Spanish during the War of the Spanish Succession. Hardly had the Peace of Utrecht promised a measure of security in 1713, and the colony settled down to peace, when the Yamacsee Indians, their erstwhile allies, attacked in force and kept the province in a continual state of expectant alarm until 1719. In that year the proprietary government, which had proved its inadequacy under fire, was overthrown by the colonists and the gradual establishment of South Carolina as a royal colony was begun.

Thus it was that Thomas Morritt, arriving in Charleston in April,

¹³Thomas Cooper, *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia, South Carolina), II, 389-396.

¹⁴*Journal of S. P. G.*, January 25, 1711/12, II, 161-162.

¹⁵William Cordiner to the Secretary, London, February 21, 1712, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 7, 27.

¹⁶Guy remained as a missionary of the Society until 1751, and became a key figure in colonial affairs and those of the Society.

¹⁷For a reproduction of this tract see Alexander S. Salley, Jr., *Narrative of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York, 1911), 219-264.

1723,¹⁸ found it necessary to rebuild the school which had started in 1712. He had come to Carolina at the instance of the colonial assembly, with the promise of a salary of "£100 proclamation money, i. e. £400 of the present Currency per annum."¹⁹ But the young schoolmaster soon found that, while such provisions had been made by enactment of the assembly, the business of carrying them out was left, frontier style, to the resourcefulness of the individual. In his own words, written some month later, "Before I came over I'd mighty hopes given me I was coming to a good market, but I find to my great Surprize upon my Arrival learn^s fell of its original Staple encoragm^t considerably from w^t was estimated before."²⁰

On May 9, 1723, a paper from Morritt was presented to the assembly outlining the difficulties he had already encountered and enlisting their support in behalf of the school. Briefly, the young schoolmaster had found no provision for schoolhouse, for scholars, or for salary. In a seven-point memorial he requested some action as to his salary, pointing out both the provisions of their act and the "Chargeable living it is in this City." Comparing his situation with that of the missionaries, he pointed out that the nature of his duties as a schoolmaster denied him the "opportunity of Breeding Cattle or growing any corn," by which means the ministers were able to supplement their salary. He hoped, moreover, that the provisions of the act allowing £4 per annum for each scholar "meant Sterling & not as money is tendered here w^{ch} falls far short of the usual allowances given where any such Schools are founded in Engl^d or elsewhere." He asked that the assembly would, at first, reduce the number of free scholars to less than twelve, a "Number [which] is a sufficient Charge for any Master," in order that he should not be oppressed "with too great a weight at my first beg^{ing}." Finally he asked that a notice be published "to all Gent. that are disposed to send their children" appointing a place and time for enrolling his pay scholars, and asked provision for "a house & providing fforms & Seats in the School."²¹

The council recommended that Morritt "be advanced in part of his Sallary the £50 provided for him in the Estimate, to w^{ch} his Excellency [Governor Nicholson] laid down £20." But in the upper house this recommendation was delayed by referral to a committee.²²

¹⁸William Guy to the Secretary, July 27, 1723, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, p. 581.

¹⁹Clergy of South Carolina to the Secretary, Charleston, May 16, 1723, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, p. 544.

²⁰"Papers relateing to Mr. Morrit and the School at Charles Town," in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, Pt. 2, p. 590.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 539-540.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 541.

Meanwhile, Morritt addressed a second memorial to the Assembly "in order that I may get my Self into some settled Way and not lay dormant." He thanked Governor Nicholson for his "bountiful contribution & Zeal in my behalf," but asked further consideration for his "present Extraordinary expences . . . w^{ch} has amounted to no less than £9 per week in boarding and lodging beside other disbursements" and asked for the bounty usually given to missionaries upon their arrival. His expenses were increased by the fact that he was married, but he hoped for special consideration on this ground, since the S. P. G. had specified that a married man was the "fittest person to be made Choice of" for schoolmaster.²³

As to the immediate problem of obtaining a schoolhouse, Morritt requested that it "be somewhere wthout the City in order that the boys may be prevented from doing mischief & that they may be kept better under my Eye w^{ch} can't possibly be done in the City because their are greater opportunitys & Incumbents of absconding from School." Since he hoped to draw upon neighboring plantations for boarding scholars, he suggested that an additional inducement toward an outlying location was the fact that the school could have "a little land Contingent to the House in order to maintain a garden, a few Cows & a few Sheep & Poultry &c that in Case at any time of a disappointment of Provisions from the market one may have an opportunity of being supplied wthin oneself on such Exigencies." Further, if three Negro slaves could be furnished, he would, provided they did not die within the space of three years, "engage to make that same good to the province again shou'd I either dye or quit the School." The schoolhouse, he suggested, should be built "without the dwelling house otherwise I shall daily run the risque of having my things broke and abused & that the boys will be crowded so much in the hot Seasons that the School will be insupportable."²⁴ In a private letter to Governor Nicholson, Morritt pointed out that "there is not I am Sensible a house to be had for such a design without your Interposition and therefore wth all those difficulties I hope you will not let me Struggle alone but either to take these things into farther Consideracons to excuse me if I seek to make other provision for my Self while an Occasion now personally pres^{ts} itself."²⁵

At the governor's instance, the assembly took action. The commissioners appointed in the free school act were ordered to "peruse the

²³"Papers relating to Mr. Morritt and the School at Charles Town," in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, pt. 2, p. 541-542.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 543-544.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 545-546.

directions of the Act so far as the same is not repugnant to any Law since made." Morritt's salary of "£100 proclamacon money"²⁶ was allowed for one year, "provided that he do begin to teach School in two months from this day," and 15 shillings proclamation money per quarter was allowed as tuition for each scholar. A committee of both houses passed a resolution providing that "a Convent House to keep his School," be arranged, and appointed the Honorable Ralph Izard, Esq., Mr. Chief Justice Hill and Col. Chicken to discuss with Alexander Garden, the minister of St. Philip's, Charleston, the advisability of obtaining the parsonage house. Mr. Garden had consented for one year "provided that the publick wou'd be at the Charge for that time of hiring Doctor Hutchinsons house on the Green for him to live in." Morritt was also allowed £50 out of the public treasury "to put the School in order."²⁷

By June 11, 1723, about two months after his arrival, Morritt was preparing to "attend at home to receive such Schollars whose parents are disposed to send to be under my care." His outline of the teaching program is so complete as to bear quotation in full:

The Latin tongue is the Intent of my Mission and for that Method I shall observe no other than what is usually practis'd in other Gramer Schools in Engl^d. I shall chiefly use Lilly for the rudimental part & then I shall proceed to Sententia puerites, Corderii Colloquies, Latin Test., Erasmus, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Virgil, Horace, Lucius, Justine. Tacitus or Suetonius or Valerius Maximus & Claudian and as for the Greek Authors I shall teach such parts of Isocrates & Lucian's Dialog: as are usually published for the use of Schools, the Minor Poets with Hesiod's Greek Test. Homer & Euripides & in order to give the Boys a tast of Class Geography I shall cause to be read Dionysious Periegetis and Cluver Geographia and these I shall be somew^t particular upon to Compare them wth the modern Geography . . . Justin & others I shall cause to be frequently read & perused to give the boys a Tast of of Cronology . . . Kennet's Goodwin and Potter's Antiquity shall be also read in order to be acquainted with the rights Customs & Ceremonies of the Antients these at Spare times or at home I shall endeavor to oblige the boys to read over together with the History of the Heathen Gods, Pantheon &c.

²⁶The ratio between Sterling and proclamation money was based on the proclamation of Queen Anne of June 18, 1704, fixing the value of foreign coins. Embodied by parliament into an act in 1707, the ratio between sterling and proclamation money became fixed at 3 to 4; or £100 sterling was equivalent to £133 1/3 proclamation money. See W. Roy Smith, *South Carolina as a Royal Province, 1719-1776* (New York, 1903), p. 230n.

²⁷"Papers relating to Mr. Morrit and the School at Charles Town," in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, Pt. 2, pp. 546-547.

but as for those boys w^{ch} I shall have constantly in the House wth me & such as are boarders I do intend besides these Books already menconed to make them read 3 times a week at least if not every night Classick History especialy such historians as we have Translated into our Language. those books I will cause to be read an hour at nights between 8 & 9 & I shall not omit at that time to instruct them in Cronology & Geography & teach them the use of the Globes.²⁸

For this course, together with diet and lodging and washing, he hoped to be able to charge £5 sterling per quarter. Further, if the parents of boarders could pay this tuition in advance, he would "be enabled to go to market all ways with ready money & provide myself with necessary stores of Flour, &c. when Ships arrive & not be obliged to run on Score what other things are usually given at the first entrance." Students boarding would also be expected to "provide Bedd & Linen & when they leave the School or at Conveniency I will return their bedds to them again."²⁹

On June 11, 1723, the council considered Morritt's proposals and ordered that public notice be given of the proposed school. Their action also specified that "the Catechism according to the Church of Engl^d be taught every Saturday."³⁰ By June 27th, 1723, Morritt could report that he had begun school "after having Labour'd under no small inconveniencies by being in Lodgings for 7 Weeks and upwards . . . before I could have the house provided for me," and was able to write the Society that his success would have been impossible without the "indefatigable care of this affair" on the part of the governor, Francis Nicholson. Further he planned to supplement both his income and his scholars by serving in the country parishes of South Carolina when vacancies occurred on Sundays. Since only three scholars had appeared, the advisability of thus representing the advantages of the school to country parishes seemed obvious. His finances, furthermore, remained in a dubious state, he being already "£20 Sterling out of pocket this year having already drawn to England for £20 and for £15 more to be sent me in School books w^{ch} to anyone else that could not procure these helps I am sensible must be in a Degree of Starving." Due to the rate of exchange he had found that £100 Carolina Currency will not pay servants wages for the necessary Services of my house." Indeed, had not the assembly come to his terms and the school been started, he would have been tempted to return home for,

²⁸"Papers relating to Mr. Merrit and School at Charles Town," in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, Pt. 2, pp. 569-570.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 571.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 572.

as he concluded, "this design I fear like all other projects makes more in computation than is found in the Acct."³¹

Two weeks later, on August 15, 1723, Morritt again wrote the Society that he had only three scholars, and as yet found "little appearance of having many more tho' I've both given public notice and privately in the country spoke to many who have Children who chiefly make me this reply that as their children are already with a Gramar Schoolmaster in the Country they are unwilling to remove 'em & send 'em to me for fear of Sickness and the small pox which this City is more liable to than the Country." His rival schoolmaster in the country had at least 15 boarders in the house with him, but was not in orders and had no license from the bishop of London. As for the boys of Charleston, there were "not 20 that I can find that intend to learn Latin and of these Scarce half of them will be continued above $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ year." Meanwhile, in order to encourage more pay scholars he had reduced the tuition for boarding and learning to £100 per annum "w^{ch} is ab^t £18 Sterling, of w^{ch} I cant propose to get the Learning clear by 'em." In view of the small enrollment, he proposed to the Society two alternatives: one, that he be attached to the living of St. Philip's Church, Charleston, serving as assistant to the rector, and conducting his school on week days, and two, that he be placed as minister in one of the country parishes, since "it is the opinion of many that this School will never answer anyone [unless] . . . he has a sure dependence to Subsist on Comfortably till he can raise the Credit of the School." If he could be transferred to the vacant parish of Goose Creek, where there was a commodious house, he felt sure that he could "raise a good School and more considerable Young Gent. under my care than I can at the best propose to have here, and it is also thot that none are so proper to teach School especially in the Country Parishes where there are so many Sects of Religion as the Ministers of the Parishes, where they might in most Parishes both Conveniently do it and by their good examples . . . would make themselves to be more respected by the Parishion^{rs} and by the Children when they are grown up." As to the Charleston school he pointed out that the law authorizing it had been in effect for some years and, "if there was any likelihood of this School being worth anyones while I question not but 'twou'd ere now been undertaken by some of the Clergy who found it difficult enough for them to live."³²

³¹Thomas Morritt to the S. P. G., June 27, 1723, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, Pt. 2, pp. 573-576.

³²Thomas Morritt to the S. P. G., Charles City, August 15, 1723, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, Pt. 2, pp. 582-588.

At the same time the bishop of London's representative, Commissary William Tredwell Bull, was writing to London of "the Gramar School now setting up by the Rev^d Mr Morritt" in a "large & very dec^t brick house formerly the parsonage."³³ Doubtless the fact that Morritt was receiving some £40 Sterling as salary from the Society until he could place the school on a sound financial basis, caused him to carry on in spite of handicaps until the slow means of communication brought him his answer. As an employee of the Society he forfeited his salary if he left a hopeless situation without its consent and the delay in obtaining that consent, often, as in the case of Morritt, kept the despairing missionary on the job until success caught up with him.

By October 1, 1723, when the assembly had re-convened, Morritt again appeared before them with an account of his proceedings in relation to the free school. He was concerned over the fact that he had only three scholars, both because of the purpose of the school and because the "backwardness of the Gent. in sending their Children has . . . put me to no small expence above my anual income, & it even exceeds my skill in Arithmatic to find out a limited time wherein I may regain it to put me in *Status quo* I was in before I left England." Nevertheless a schoolhouse had been obtained, schoolbooks had arrived and Morritt pointed out that now was "a seasonable opportunity of erecting such a School as may be said not to be paralleled in America w^{ch} will require no more expence to Support in than a Continuation of the foundation already laid out for that purpose," provided action be taken immediately to secure the schoolhouse and the teacher's salary beyond the year allotted him.³⁴

By December 11, 1723, he wrote the Society that his hopes were "somew^t revived." His school had increased to six scholars and the committee of the assembly had resolved that, in view of the depreciated currency, his salary should be made good in proclamation money, while an additional sum of £500 was provided toward purchasing land and building a house. His habit of supplying vacant parishes on Sundays had, moreover, had the "happy effect as to bring me acquainted with the Country Gent. who are the only people that are able to Support the School for the only Latin Scholars w^{ch} I have sent me out of the Country by that means I made myself known to them and an easier access permitted me to press forward my affairs." The improvement

³³Commissary W. T. Bull to the Secretary, August 16, 1723, in S. P. G. MSS. A 17, p. 36.

³⁴Memorial of Thomas Morrit to the Council and the Honble Assembly, October 1, 1723, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, Pt. 2, pp. 590-592.

made by the scholars already under his care was also having the effect of raising the prestige of the school in the community.³⁵

Meanwhile he outlined another difficulty which had contributed to this lack of scholars. Both in the country and in the town, he wrote, there were "some fresh inovators" set up, teaching only writing and simple accounts. He continued: with a description of the colonial mood toward schools:

I cou'd heartily wish they were Suppress'd for instead of being a furtherance to Learn^g they're a great hindrance. It Is Customary here for a Newcomer to set up for a Schoolm^r and in a little time either grow weary or meet with some other employ. In the meantime these Intruders amuse the people and baulk the Publick School so much that I wish the honble Society wou'd be pleased to interest themselves & represent this grievance to the Gov^{nt}.³⁶

Holding to the idea of classical education of the English grammar school, Morritt proposed that the addition of a writing master would, without sacrificing Latin, enable him to increase his enrollment to meet the need in the colonies for a knowledge of "writing and simple accounts," while maintaining the English standard. He looked forward to the extension of his school into a college, and had already proposed such a project to the assembly. Morritt believed that such a college would not only contribute to the civilization of the colony but he suggested that the Society "have no other prospect of easing themselves of the great expence of maintain^g Miss^{ry}s abroad than by sending over able Schoolmasters & getting Colleges erected in these parts & rais^g up Schollars amongst 'em."³⁷

Within a year from his October appeal to the assembly, Morritt's persistence had begun to reap its rewards. His activities in soliciting scholars in the country, his overtures to the legislators, and the reputation of his scholars, together with the assistance of Governor Nicholson, had at last brought him success, and he could report 45 students, with 20 boys in Latin "and many more that are almost ready for it." The country was now willing to express a general satisfaction in such a flourishing school and the commissioners had shown their appreciation by appointing for him an assistant with a salary of £400 Carolina currency. Further, they were arranging for a third teacher to

³⁵Thomas Morritt to the S. P. G., December 11, 1723, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, Pt. 2, pp. 593-597.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 595.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 595-596.

take over Morritt's courses in mathematics, surveying, and arithmetic. His proposals for founding a college were "not generally received" so he had abandoned them for the time, but the success of the school itself, and the fact that the boarding schools which had threatened his early efforts were "most now declined," inspired him to continue the school on its present basis.³⁸

Morritt wrote with pride of his students who were not only progressing rapidly in their work but who "make a Considerable figure at Divine Service because I prevail'd with their Parents to have them taught to sing." The "12 boys appointed free who are poor Peoples Children" were likewise progressing well, though they were short of books, and Morritt concluded his letter with the comment, "It is a misfortune that their is no Library here for the use of the School-master especially of such a school as I hope this will be, for their are not above six Classic Authors, & those but sorry Editions, in the whole Library."³⁹

Four months later the clergy of Carolina wrote to London of the continued progress of the school, pointing out the advantage of the fact that "Dissenters, especially the Young ones, come daily over to the Church as we have a Flourishg School in Charles Town to which several of the first Rate Dissenters have sent their Children for Education."⁴⁰ And on March 22, 1725, Morritt was writing that his school had increased to 54 scholars of whom there were at least 34 "in Latin." Still looking forward to the future he named his next objective: the building of the schoolhouse which had been planned but had met with considerable delay. An alternative suggestion had arisen, namely, to set up a second school in the country, but Morritt believed it might be "some baulk to it . . . by setting up two Gramar Schools before one is well settled." Meanwhile, he requested more books for his charity boys, a request which was granted by the Society.⁴¹

Within two years after his arrival, Morritt could report to the Society that the commissioners appointed for the free school had begun to lay the foundation of the new building "on his Majesty's Coronation day." His boys were progressing, "some of em who cou'd scarce read wⁿ they came to me are now capable of rendering a whole Chap^t of the English Testam^t into Latin, in one morning, according to Castalio's Version, & withall get a Lesson by 'emselves out of Erasmus

³⁸Thomas Morritt to the S. P. G., October 22, 1724, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, Pt. 2, p. 662.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 664-666.

⁴⁰Clergy of South Carolina to the S. P. G., February 25, 1725, in S. P. G. MSS. A 19, p. 56.

⁴¹Thomas Morritt to the S. P. G., Charleston, March 22 1725, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 19, pp. 76-77.

or Ovid, & many can read Besa Gramatically into English." He continued:

My method is to keep the boys in Corderii Colloq: & Bezas Test: so long till the same become familiar on openg to any part of before I put any other Books into their hands by w^{ch} means I find they are easily brot to be Capable of understanding Erasmus or Lucius. I have 10 Boys sent me out of the Country beside one that came from Philad^a & another that came from the Bahaman Islands which are Boarders & 10 Charity Boys recommended by the Com^{rs} two of w^{ch} are Mulatos in all 52 of w^{ch} I daily expect an Augmentation rather than a decrease.⁴²

Significant of the Society's concern for the education of the Negroes and Indians as well as the white colonists is the fact that, at this early date, two Negro boys were included among the charity scholars. Morritt also informed the Society that he had sent for an "Indian Youth abt 12 Years of Age . . . son to one of the Chiefs of the Creek Nation," in the hope that he could be interested in attending the school.⁴³

Thus the school continued under Morritt's instruction until 1728 when he resigned his position to accept the position of clergyman in the Carolina parish of St. George's, Winyaw.⁴⁴ During his last two years new difficulties arose, partly as a result of the political quarrels which accompanied the final transference of the colony to the crown in 1729. In a long letter to the Society, dated July 8, 1726, Morritt outlined these difficulties. Morritt's friendship with Governor Nicholson had produced some prejudice against him by the governor's enemies and Morritt had been represented by some "as a favorer of his party w^{ch} is Crime enough wth some here . . . insomuch that the School now is causelessly made the resentm^t of a Party, by the officious offices of one that shou'd & ought to maintain a better mind."⁴⁵

This political strife revealed itself in many ways. Criticism of the location of the school had arisen and Morritt wrote that the complaint had become so general "that several of the Members of the Assembly, do give out that they will either have the School nearer Town or they will Vote against the Salary, tho the Assembly before enter'd it by way of Order in the Journals, to the Treasurer, not to pay any money for erecting a Free School except the Foundation was laid with-

⁴²Thomas Morritt to the S. P. G., Charleston, October 27, 1725, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 19, pp. 101-102.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁴⁴Clergy of South Carolina to the S. P. G., April 3, 1728, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 20, p. 104.

⁴⁵Thomas Morritt to the S. P. G., Charles Town, July 8, 1726, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, Pt. 2, p. 707.

out the limits of the Town Plott, so that where it now stands is not a Furlong short of a mile from the Centre of the Town."⁴⁶ Discouraged over this new obstacle which had arisen just when the school had become so well established, Morritt wrote, in despair of this "troublesome affair, w^{ch} has been nothing else but a Scene of trouble & molestation, & I wish another may find less, it is either too far off for some, & too near Town for others, too hot or too heavy, so that they are never satisfied. . . . I have been obliged to Speech 'em or sooth 'em up with some Address in order to prepossess them of these Conceits, w^{ch} has almost weared me at last."⁴⁷

Finally, he found himself in difficulties with the rector of St. Philip's, Charleston, who resented the fact that Morritt supplied vacancies in the country parishes rather than remain in Charleston to assist him. In a long memorial to the Society, Morritt wrote in minor key of the difficulties he had overcome, but which were now finally threatening to unseat him. As the weary report of a discouraged man, it may here be included at some length. Charging that Alexander Garden had been instrumental in bringing him to Charleston "to be his Curate, his Underling and do on all occasions the Drudgery of the Parish that he might live at ease," rather than for the purpose of promoting the Free School, Morritt wrote:

When I arrived I found neither a House nor a Salary settled nor any Steps taken towards sounding the mind of the People to know wether they wou'd give any encouragem^t to a Lecturer, so that finding myself thus bubbled & seeing I cou'd not immediately return to England because my Wife was wth child, I writ to the Hon^{ble} Society to get me appointed to a parish but discovering my overtures, I had that disingenuous peice of Service done me to have it represent'd that I was hankering after a Parish, and therefore application was made to some Members to attend all Comittees & get my address set aside, this I was not made acquainted with till I had begun the School, but in reality the ground of this war, least my return or non acceptance of the School should reflect upon Some Gent. that Subscribed to the Letter to invite me over for Mr. Moore speaker of the Assembly told me their House knew nothing of my coming, & w^{ch} I urged to him that they had Sign'd a Petition for that intent, answer'd, it was forgot, & they thought no more of it, wⁿ I brought things to bear, w^{ch} I had never done if I had not happily preach'd at Goose Creek, another attempt underhand was contrived to be offer'd to comprise the Lecturer in the Augmentation of the Salary, no sooner was I inform'd of it, but I instantly applied

⁴⁶Thomas Morritt to the S. P. G., Charles Town, July 8, 1726, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B. 4, Pt. 2, p. 708.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 708.

myself to Coll. Moore Speaker, who advised me to Petition that the School might be consider'd apart w^{ch} accordingly I did & his Excellency has the Petition to produce if not I have a Copy by me. Such are the difficultys I have met & Strugl'd with, yet I thank God I have brought the School to something even beyond expectation, but yet wou'd be much better was I in a Convenient House both Convenient for Boarders & more convenient for the Town Children, But this I live in is so Crazy that some make a Scruple of sending their Children by day least it fall down, it is a Brick house 2 story & a half high & supported by 16 Shoars, w^{ch} is a hindranec to the increase of my Boarders, & as for the new House as it will not be ready ag^t the Hurrican Season, so I must be oblig'd to have one at my own Expencc for the Security of my Goods & Books, in w^{ch} I suffered no small damage ab^t two years ago, so much that I was obliged to write for new Furniture w^{ch} are now I hope in God safe at Sea, wth £35 Sterl. School Books, & part of my Library I left behind me. I have drawn over a Considerable Interest into this Country so much that I cannot be able to remove out of it this two years, at least, without a considerable loss, & I have likewise 1000 £ this Currency owing me w^{ch} is not readily called in, as it is known I am fetter'd so I am insulted and used the worse for it, w^{ch} is very hard. I must thus be disturbed of my quiet & as it were ferreted out of my Settlem^t⁴⁸

Morritt concluded his memorial with the statement that "Had I not been unhappily baffled in the School by ill Services I shou'd have qualified two Boys that wou'd offer themselves for holy order w^{ch} . . . wou'd have made in time a considerable ffigure in Learning."⁴⁹

The Society presented this report to the school commissioners of South Carolina, who, in a sedate statement, agreed that Morritt should seek other employment, asked for another schoolmaster, and added that they had "nothing to object to any of the reasons contained in Mr Morritt's letter." Since the public of South Carolina had been at "the expence of near £4000 in erecting a Public School House," they hoped that the Society would be able to replace Morritt without delay.⁵⁰

Morritt continued in Charleston for another year, working under difficulties, and watching hopefully for his successor, still unwilling to abandon the project which had cost him so much effort. On July 6, 1727, he wrote the Society that he was ill "owing to the great fatigue . . . this hot season in walking twice a day from town to School." His salary had again been disputed in the assembly and there seemed little

⁴⁸Thomas Morritt to the S. P. G., Charles Town, July 8, 1726, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, Pt. 2, 713-716.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 717.

⁵⁰School Commissioners to the S. P. G., Charles Town, December 4, 1726, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), B 4, Pt. 2, p. 753.

prospect of redress "when these confusions & distractions will end—no one that has acted in any publick capacity has escaped the censure of a Clamorous rout."⁵¹ Finally on April 3, 1728, the clergy of South Carolina wrote the Society that Mr. John Lambert had arrived in Charleston as Morritt's successor, and Morritt withdrew to the parish of Winyaw. On April 8th, five days later, Morritt wrote, "We have now got a new Assembly who seem to make some tollerable efforts towards finishing the Free School and rectifying all past miscarriages and have entred into some Resolutions towards giving the Rev^d Mr. Lambert encouragm^t by the joynt assistance and application of the Clergy in general in his belief."⁵² He himself, in withdrawing to Winyaw, requested from the Society "Above all a good Library . . . because that Parish lies so remote from other Settlem^{ts} that it is impossible to procure the perusal of any Books w^{ch} a Missionary is not Supplied with out of his own Library."⁵³ He had already set in motion plans for giving to the youth of Winyaw instructions on week days, and continued to encourage the school at Charleston in his capacity as a clergyman of the colony.

Morritt remained in Carolina as a clergyman, serving the parish of Winyaw, and later of Christ Church, until 1738. And, as has been previously stated, the Free School at Charleston was continued until the American Revolution in 1776. As the affairs of the colony became more settled under the crown, and as rice and indigo grew in importance, increasing the wealth of the Carolinas, the school likewise prospered. Morritt's successors, therefore, rarely encountered all of the difficulties he found in his short term. His own account of the re-establishment of the Charleston Free School, of setting up its standards, building its student body, obtaining physical equipment, and legislative assistance marks Morritt as one of the thousands of founders in the story of education in the United States.

⁵¹Thomas Morritt to the S. P. G., Charles Town, July 6, 1727, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 20, pp. 86-87.

⁵²Clergy of South Carolina to the S. P. G., April 3, 1728, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 21, p. 168.

⁵³Thomas Morritt to the Secretary, Charles Town, April 8, 1728, in S. P. G. MSS. (L. C. Trans.), A 21, p. 168.

PHILANDER CHASE AND THE FRONTIER¹

*By James Arthur Muller**

PHILANDER Chase was born on the frontier. His father, Dudley Chase, went pioneering, with his family, from Newburyport, Massachusetts, into the Indian-infested wilderness of New Hampshire in 1763. He settled at what became Cornish, New Hampshire. Philander's mother was the first white woman to go so far north in that colony. She took seven children with her. Eight more, without benefit of nurse or doctor, arrived in New Hampshire. Philander was the youngest. He was born on December 14, 1775.

He grew up in a self-sufficient family. His father, his brothers, and himself farmed and hunted, his mother and his sisters spun flax and wool, made the family's clothing, manufactured candles, soap, and starch, extracted sugar from the maples, and preserved meat for the winter. As a boy he acquired a great affection for the woods and learned all there was to be learned of woodcraft. He not only learned to farm, he loved it. He remained to the end of his days, despite his varied ecclesiastical occupations, an enthusiastic and successful farmer.

The Chases were a hardy tribe. Philander's mother lived to be eighty-one, his father to be eighty-six. All but one of his fourteen brothers and sisters grew up, several to careers of distinction. One brother became a physician, one a successful lawyer, one a bank president, one a judge of the supreme court of Vermont and United States senator, one a member of the council of the state of New Hampshire and father of Lincoln's secretary of the treasury, Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase.

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¹This is not a biographical sketch of Bishop Chase, though it contains biographical material, nor a review of the controversies which arose over his activities. It is rather an attempt to illustrate, from incidents in his career, some phases of the life of a missionary in American communities but recently opened to settlement in the early nineteenth century. It is based chiefly upon material in the manuscript collection at Kenyon College, including not only Chase's correspondence, but also a manuscript life of Chase by his son Dudley. Use has also been made of the Chase manuscripts in the library of The Church Historical Society, of Chase's *Reminiscences*, 2 vols., 1848, of L. C. Smith's *Life of Philander Chase*, 1903, of R. L. Shiveley's *Jubilee, a Pioneer College*, 1935, and of G. F. Smythe's *History of the Diocese of Ohio*, 1931. This last is one of the best pieces of regional American Church history which we have.

At the age of seventeen, Philander, a tall, stalwart, good looking youth, entered Dartmouth, as four of his brothers had done before him. While there a Prayer Book came into his hands. Just how a Prayer Book got into Dartmouth at that time is something of a mystery. The study of it brought him from the Congregationalism in which he had been reared into the Episcopal Church. He persuaded his whole family to follow him, and while still in college acted as lay reader at Cornish, New Hampshire, and Bethel, Vermont. Then and throughout his life he felt that the type of religion fostered by the Prayer Book was correctly characterized by the adjectives "primitive" and "apostolic."

On graduation from Dartmouth in 1795 he studied theology under the nearest resident Episcopal clergyman, the rector of St. Peter's Church, Albany, New York. On ordination to the diaconate in 1798 he was appointed itinerant missionary to northern and western New York. The state road from Utica to Geneva has just been opened. When he first visited Utica the stumps of the forest trees were still standing in the streets. The country west of that town was almost wholly covered with dense forest. Where Syracuse later rose there was a saltmarsh. Auburn consisted of one house and a tavern.

Chase did not stop with the state road at Auburn. His ministrations extended as far west as Batavia. During the year and a half of his ministry in New York he travelled 4,000 miles on horseback, preaching and baptizing wherever opportunity offered, and founding parishes in seven places, including Utica, Auburn, Canandaigua, and Batavia. In later years he often referred to this period of his life, saying that his experiences in this newly opened country were at the bottom of his urge to minister to other settlers as the frontier moved farther west.

For six years following his missionary diaconate he was rector at Poughkeepsie and Fishkill, New York. Then in 1805 he went to New Orleans. He was the first Protestant minister in that city and the church he founded—now Christ Church Cathedral—was the first Protestant church. Six years later he became rector of Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut. Here he also remained six years, and in after days looked back on this period as the happiest in his life. "Of the time," he said, "I spent in this lovely city I can never speak in ordinary terms. It is to my remembrance as a dream of more than terrestrial delight."

But Chase would certainly not have been happy, had he continued for the rest of his life in Hartford. His birth and rearing under frontier conditions, his early ministry in the far reaches of New York, the knowledge that friends were pulling up stakes and moving out into "New Connecticut," as the Western Reserve was then often called—all this made him restless.

The late Samuel McChord Crothers, in his book, *The Pardoners' Wallet*, has a delightful essay on the West entitled, "The Land of the Large and Charitable Air." "The psychological West," he says, "begins at the point where the center of interest suddenly shifts from the day before yesterday to the day after tomorrow. . . . One does not know his America until he has been touched by the Western fever. He must be possessed by a desire to take up a claim and build himself a shack and invest in a corner lot in a Future Great City. . . . One who has once had this fever never completely recovers. Though he may change his environment he is always subject to intermittent attacks."

Chase was undoubtedly subject to intermittent if not chronic attacks. Along with them went a genuine missionary concern. He had, he said, "a lively impression that wherever the lambs of Christ went, thither it was necessary that some shepherd should go with them." Hence in 1817 he gave up his comfortable home and loyal congregation and started for Ohio. As he truthfully said, he left Hartford "not for a more opulent parish but literally for the wilderness—under the patronage of no missionary body, for then there was no such in being—he was going depending on his own limited means, under Providence."

Leaving his family in Hartford for the time, he started by stage on Monday morning, March 2, in three feet of snow. Although he does not say so, his reason for leaving at this time of year was that travel was easier and more expeditious when there was snow on the roads, for the stage coaches were then set on runners. A picture of what coach travel was like when the roads were not snow covered is given in Henry Caswall's *America and the American Church*. In September, 1828, eleven years after Chase left Hartford, Caswall travelled over a part of the same route. He describes the journey from Albany to Schenectady thus: "There were no springs, and in their absence the huge machine [i. e., the body of the coach] hung upon long thick straps of leather on which, as the wheels plunged through mud and ruts, it pitched and rolled like a vessel in a storm. In the course of five wretched hours, during which the driver displayed admirable skill and the passengers invincible patience, we travelled the sixteen miles and arrived at Schenectady."

Fortunately for Chase the snow lasted till Canandaigua. Beyond Buffalo there was no coach service nor any other regular means of travel. The ice, though thin, was still on Lake Erie, and Chase was able to engage settlers with sleighs to drive him in relays down the lake as far as the Pennsylvania line. Near here, he said, "we often had to jump our horses across the cracks in the ice and sometimes saw the black water through the loopholes." On Sunday morning, March

16, 1817, thirteen days after leaving Hartford, he reached what he called "the northeast corner of the Land of Promise," namely, a small settlement of log cabins on Conneaut Creek, Ohio, where he preached to a congregation composed entirely of men.

Ohio had been opened to settlement as early as 1787. In 1802 it had been admitted to the Union as a state with a population of 45,000. When Chase entered the state Cleveland was a village with about 150 inhabitants, Cincinnati with about 3,000. But these and many other places were growing rapidly. Indeed Chase came into Ohio just ahead of the flood time of immigration. Yet for some years thereafter bounties were offered by the state for wolves' and panthers' heads.

As for the Episcopal Church at the time of his coming, what little there was of it was receiving the ministrations of three clergymen, two of whom gave but part time to it and the third had just come. The Rev. Joseph Doddridge divided his energies between four parishes in the panhandle of Virginia (now West Virginia) and three in the adjacent region of Ohio. James Kilbourne, a deacon, had organized a parish in the center of the state, at Worthington, as early as 1803, but spent most of his time as agent of a colonization company. The Rev. Roger Searle had come from Plymouth, Connecticut, one month before Chase and was itinerating in northeastern Ohio, in what was then known as the Western Reserve, and organizing parishes there. In a few other places devout laymen read services to groups of Episcopalians.

Chase at once rode across the state from the extreme northeast to the extreme southwest, preaching wherever opportunity offered and organizing parishes in nine places, including Coshocton, Columbus, Dayton, and Cincinnati.

He decided to settle in Worthington where he bought a farm of 150 acres and sent for his family to join him. He at once became rector of five parishes, at Worthington, Delaware, Berkshire, Radnor, and Columbus.

In addition to this he had to see to the building of a house and getting the farm in running order. Early in 1818 he wrote to his son, Philander, Jr., then a senior at Harvard: "Never was I so much and so pressingly employed. For it is not here as in New England in regard to facility of building. Everything comes by the hardest. Our population has nearly doubled since I came, all calling for a house to cover them. . . . What scrambling for the first turn in the use of the mills!! What bidding for joiners and masons, what want of nails and glass. . . . My fingers are stiff by reason of hard labor. Indeed you know not how many things I turn my hands to. . . . When I came on the farm last July it was nearly a desert, overgrown with weeds and

briars. . . . There are so many old logs, trees, and boughs on the premises that I see no end of getting rid of them, so much want of fence that I can see no end to making rails and paying money for them, and so much to do in breaking up the sod to make my garden that I know not when it will be finished."

That this sort of life agreed with him is clear from his postscript: "My health is better, tho you'd hardly know me. I've lost full ten inches of my circumference."

He also found refreshment of spirit. "I am," he wrote, "happier in my domicile than I ever was before. Why? Because I have so much to do and so many fond things in anticipation—and you know that this is all man has to make him happy in this world of shadows. . . . After he has stretched his thoughts and capacities *as far as he can* into the future—he must stretch them a *little further*."

A younger son, Dudley, recalling the farm at Worthington as it was some years later, described it thus: "On an elevation remote from the main road was the roomy white frame house with green blinds. . . . It looked bright beneath the overhanging trees to which wild grape vines clung. . . . Across the lane was the spacious barn, beyond were meadows, . . . and in the rear of all the dense forest of beech, maple, and walnut. . . . In the forest were numberless squirrels and, at the right season millions of wild pigeons feeding on the beech nuts. In the fall there could be seen hundreds of wild turkeys sitting on the rails of the fence fronting the corn fields. Deeper in the forest were deer, bear, and wild swine."

He pictured his father at the time of his arrival in Ohio: "He was a man then of forty-two years of age, in the prime of life, six feet, four inches in height and a good horseman, sitting upright as a military officer, weight about two hundred and fifty pounds. . . . His outfit was a young handy-horse, a good walker; his clothing plain and serviceable; he had for riding a pair of leggings made of baize cloth, green; for preaching, cassock, cravats, and bands; for emergencies, a thong of leather, a knife, an awl, and waxed thread."

"His custom was always to rise early, generally at 4 A. M., and have all his letters answered by breakfast time. At breakfast his favorite beverage was coffee, served in a large bowl, into which he broke dry toast and ate it with a spoon. Water he always drank from some vessel not of glass. . . . The odor of stale whiskey in the glasses at the taverns in Ohio had created an aversion to the use of tumblers."

Two weeks after Chase first arrived in Ohio he attended, at Windsor, a meeting of laymen representing five parishes in the Reserve, recently organized by the Rev. Roger Searle. Searle presided. Chase

acted as secretary. They decided to invite the other parishes in the state to a convention to be held at Columbus, January 5, 1818. This convention was attended by Searle, Chase, and lay representatives of eight parishes. Chase was elected president, and the convention proceeded to organize the Episcopal Church in Ohio into a diocese—an event significant in the history of the Episcopal Church in this country, for it was the first diocese to be organized beyond the thirteen original states, and it had come into being without the aid of General Convention or of any missionary society. It was evidence of a vitality which many had doubted that the Episcopal Church would ever show.

The constitution of the new diocese provided for the next meeting of the convention on the first Wednesday in June. On that occasion, June 3, 1818, lay representatives of ten parishes and five clergymen, the four already mentioned (Searle, Chase, Doddridge, and Kilbourne) and a new arrival in Cincinnati, Samuel Johnston, elected Chase bishop. He was consecrated February 11, 1819, in Philadelphia, by Bishops White, Hobart, Kemp and Croes—the eighteenth bishop in the American succession.

As George Franklin Smythe justly observes, "From the day Chase arrived in Ohio it was practically certain that he would be the bishop. . . . So commanding was his presence, so great his personal charm, . . . so capable was he, . . . so full of energy, so unceasing in activity, that he made upon all the impression of a man extraordinarily qualified to be a leader."

His labors as bishop were herculean. He was tireless in his early visitations, covering incredible distances, considering the condition of the roads—or the lack of them. Seven years after his consecration he wrote to a friend in England: "We have a paved road across the mountains from Baltimore to Wheeling, but the roads of Ohio are in their natural state and in the spring of the year are almost impassable." In the last six months of 1820, for instance, he traveled 1,300 miles in the saddle. Twenty years later, when he looked back on it, he could hardly believe it. "The vast distances of journeyings on horseback," he said, "under the burning sun and pelting rain, through the mud and amid the beech roots, o'er log bridges and through swollen streams—it all seems like a dream."

Everywhere he found groups of Episcopalians as well as unchurched members of other denominations eager for regular church services. The problem was to secure clergymen. To the five who were present at his election to the episcopate in 1818, five others were added during the next four years, but one of these soon left, one was in poor health,

and one of the original five retired. Although each of these men served several parishes, they did not even begin to meet the need. In vain the bishop appealed to the East for help. Then in 1823, hearing that his work had been favorably noticed in a British review, he had a sudden inspiration that he should go to England to appeal for funds to found an institution to train up clergy in Ohio. To England forthwith he went. How he overcame the obstacles thrown in his way by Bishop Hobart of New York, who felt that if any money were to be collected anywhere it should go to the General Theological Seminary, how he won the hearts and opened the purses of Lord Kenyon, Lord Gambier, Lady Rosse, and a host of other English men and women, how he returned with \$30,000, which in that day had a purchasing power of perhaps twenty times its present value, has been adequately told elsewhere.

He liked to refer to himself, when in England, as "the backwoods bishop"; and it has truly been said that "England had not seen such a bishop in a thousand years." But it was not either because of or in spite of backwoods deportment that Chase was everywhere received and admired. His courtesy, his dignity, his genial temper, the brilliance of his conversation, and above all his evident sincerity made him the subject of universal acclaim.

After a visit to Colchester his hostess wrote to him: "If you could possibly know the impression that your short visit made upon the hearts of myself and children, my letter would require no apology. . . . By the effects of your society and conversation we might almost think that we had entertained a heavenly visitant. . . . I would not write thus to any other human being; I should feel that I was incurring an assured censure for cant and hypocrisy, but . . . I know that you will believe me. You have created a strong impression in the best part of our society here. . . . For the first time in my life I am becoming an enthusiast." A decade after Chase's visit Bishop Ward of Sodor and Mann wrote to Bishop White of Pennsylvania saying: "The Bishop of Ohio, after a few months' sojourn amongst us, left such an impression of affection and veneration on the hearts of old and young of all ranks and degrees amongst us in Church and State as can never be effaced."

Chase returned to this country full of plans and bursting with energy and enthusiasm. Land was given him for his college and seminary on Alum Creek, about eight miles from Worthington. It was virgin forest and he at once had handbills distributed to settlers within a radius of fifteen miles, inviting them to a "chopping bee." The desirability of an educational institution in their neighborhood was, it seems, assumed to be a sufficient inducement for them to give their services in clearing the

land. One of these handbills has been preserved. It is a sheet about nine by five inches on which is printed the following:

"Theological

Seminary

and

College

on Alum Creek

The friends to this place, which every day seems more and more practicable, are desired to meet next Wednesday at 9 o'clock in the morning at the house of Samuel Bill . . .

The place . . . being an entire wilderness, every person accustomed to labor is requested to bring his axe with him and his provisions for the day. . . . Officers will be appointed . . . to keep order.

It will be opened with prayer and all use of spirituous liquor disallowed on the ground.

March 16, 1825."

Chase wrote to Lord Kenyon that "some hundreds of men" accepted the invitation; when rain stopped their work they decided to come again a week later. With this help eleven acres were cleared and fenced, seed sown, and a house twenty by twenty-four feet built in less than a month.

This, however, was a false start. The bishop had been led to believe that the owners of large tracts adjacent to the college site would give him more land, because of the rise in the value of their holdings which the establishment of the college would effect. Some of them refused, doubtless supposing that the bishop had gone so far that he would plant the college there anyway, but in this they were mistaken. He told them bluntly that their blindness to their own interests was extraordinary, and proceeded to look for another site. This he found six miles from the village of Mount Vernon—the present site of Kenyon College. Like the site on Alum Creek this was also "an entire wilderness," and gave ample scope for that tireless energy and irrepressible enthusiasm with which Chase invariably tackled the task of making the wilderness blossom like the rose.

His work in founding Kenyon College has been celebrated in the Kenyon College Song, which, while lacking historical accuracy in some of its statements, nevertheless gives a generally truthful impression.

He dug up stones, he chopped down trees,
He sailed across the stormy seas,
And begged at every noble's door,
And also that of Hannah More.

The King, the Queen, the Lords, the Earls,
They gave their crowns, they gave their pearls,
Until Philander had enough
And hurried homeward with the stuff.

He built the College, built the dam,
He milked the cow, he smoked the ham;
He taught the classes, rang the bell,
And spanked the naughty freshmen well.

I shall not go into the difficulty which ultimately arose between the bishop and the group of young men whom he gathered as a faculty and who objected to what he called the "patriarchial" government of the college—with, of course, himself as the patriarch. It led to his resignation as bishop in 1831. He had held the office only twelve and a half years but, as has been truly said, that period was "marked by labors such as might have sufficed for a lifetime and its main results abide with us today." When he resigned, the diocese contained, in addition to Kenyon College, forty-three organized parishes, staffed by nineteen clergy.

Hearing that southern Michigan, but recently opened to settlement, was "a country of the finest land," he went thither with a friend in the spring of 1832 to look it over. In Branch County, near the Indiana line, adjacent to a lake a mile and a half long, he came upon an unoccupied tract of what he regarded as better potential farming country than any that "had ever met his eye." With some financial assistance from his brother, Judge Chase of Vermont, he at once bought 1,000 acres at the Government land office for \$1.25 an acre. He was able to hire a ploughman to break up 50 acres in which he himself planted corn and potatoes before returning to Ohio for some of his family.

He, two of his sons, in their teens, and a few hired men went out ahead of the rest of the family to put up a house. In August he wrote back that his cattle could be sent on since he had enough wild grass to winter them (he got 120 tons of hay yearly from this wild grass) but the sheep had better be left with someone in Ohio for the winter because, he said, "there are too many wolves here. They come every day in open sunshine up to the house to look at us and seem to be inquiring

whether our sheep from Ohio have yet arrived." He had a sleigh robe made from the pelts of six of these wolves which his son Dudley caught in a bear trap.

This son notes that on arrival in Michigan they traded potatoes, salt, and sugar with the Indians for venison, wild fowl, and fish. He also tells of a bushel of crackers, sent them by their mother from Ohio, which, owing to the length of time they were on their way, proved to be "like the Poet's cheese,

'Too big to swallow and too hard to bite.'"

"When, later on, fifteen or twenty Indians made us a call we generously offered them these crackers." Unable to make any impression on them with their teeth, "they took to shying them at each other and at last the chief, placing a cracker against a tree swung his tomahawk over his head and shattered it with a blow."

Bishop Chase was once more in his element. Breaking new ground physically and spiritually was always a tonic to him. Whatever depression of spirit he brought away with him from Ohio was soon dispersed. He at once began holding services in his own house for whatever neighbors there were, and since there was no Episcopal clergyman within a hundred miles he soon had nine stations on his circuit. As he wrote to a friend, he preached and held services wherever he "found persons sufficiently intelligent to say *Amen* to my giving of thanks according to the primitive liturgy of our Church." This primitive liturgy he usually carried with him in the shape of a bushel basket of Prayer Books which he distributed to the congregation, most of whom had never even heard that there was a Prayer Book. He explained the service to them as he went along.

His son Dudley describes a log cabin schoolhouse about eight miles from home where his father often held service. Built for small children, the windows were so near the floor that when the room was filled with adults the light was so obscured that the minister could not read. But there was a huge fireplace, high and deep and wide enough for the Bishop to stand in and read the service by the light which came down the chimney. "In this novel chancel," says Dudley, "the Bishop's portly frame and massive head, touched with the mellowed light of the morning sun, formed a Rembrandt portrait."

Dudley also tells us that his mother, who, by the way, was an exceptionally capable woman, had "a family doctor's book and a stock of medicines" and "mounted on the steady old horse *Cincinnatus*" rode round ministering to all the sick neighbors. Her favorite remedy for ague was "a good quart bowl of boneset or thoroughwort tea, strong

and black." When a patient refused to take "the nauseous dose," the bishop would be called in. "Here, Sir," he would say, in his most pontifical manner, "Drink this. Drink it, every drop! Drink it I say." "And it was downed without a breath between gulps."

A year after his arrival in Michigan Bishop Chase wrote enthusiastically about his new farm to Bishop Ward in England: "Never was there a finer soil. No clearing is required. Nothing is wanting to the production of a luxuriant crop but to fence and plow the field." "Fresh venison and fish [are] in abundance. . . . Our men can scarcely go through our wood, resembling, in want of underbrush and the rich grass which grows beneath, the finest of English parks, without the opportunity of shooting a buck. . . . This is no romance, may it please your Lordship.

"I wish your Lordship could see how busy we are . . . my eldest son Dudley is this moment engaged in copying some writing in my study. . . . My next son Henry is assisting my hired boy James to plough with five yoke of oxen. My two youngest, little Mary and Philander, are gone on papa's two best horses, to carry some green peas, which they had gathered with their own hands, as a present to one of our neighbours. My niece, Mrs. Russel, and her daughter, Sarah, are engaged in culinary duties, my wife at her needle. My chief carpenter is making a machine essential to an American harvest, but I believe unknown in your Lordship's country. It is a *cradle*, with which the wheat is cut, gathered, and laid in heaps, the straw all straight and even, fit for binding into sheaves. With it one man can cut three to four acres per day. My other man is busy completing the mill dam. Tomorrow, we all go in our two wagons to English Prairie, nine miles from this, where I am to preach."

This busy, prosperous, and, if we can judge from the tone of the bishop's letters, really happy existence, lasted but three years. Then, out of a clear sky came an election to the episcopate of Illinois.

Illinois was at this time (1835) in about the same stage of development as Ohio had been twenty years before. The Rev. Isaac Williams Hallam, who was sent from the east as a missionary to Chicago in 1834, reported that it had then a population of about 2,000 and was as large "as any town in the state." But settlers were rapidly moving in.

The Episcopal Church in Illinois was in the same shadowy condition as it had been two decades earlier in Ohio. In March, 1835, three of the four Episcopal clergymen in the state and lay representatives from four of the five parishes—only one of which possessed a church building—met at Peoria, organized a diocese, and elected Philander Chase bishop. In their notification of the election to him they took care to state that "no salary must be expected."

As Chase had never received any salary as bishop this did not disturb him unduly. His support in Ohio had come largely from his own farm, partly from his school, and partly from the parishes of which he continued to be rector after he became bishop. He warned the Illinois clergy that "the days of my strength and ability to bear the fatigues of planting churches in new and pathless sections of our country are forever past." Yet no sooner had he arrived in Illinois than he set out on missionary journeys whose length and difficulty equalled if they did not surpass any he had ever taken in Ohio. There was, however, this difference: now he no longer rode horseback. He used a two-horse Quaker wagon. He had become too heavy to sit in the saddle with comfort or safety either to himself or his horse. Moreover, the irregularities of roads and forest paths made it almost certain that a horse would stumble periodically and his rider be thrown. This had frequently happened to the bishop in the past. It has been said that if a statue were to be erected to him it should, appropriately, be an equestrian statue, yet to be historically truthful it ought to show him being pitched headlong from a stumbling horse and breaking two or three ribs.

Indeed the bishop's ribs seem to have been in an almost chronic state of fracture, and his change from saddle to wheels was by no means a permanent cure. Twice on journeys from the East he was in serious stage coach accidents, when a combination of bad roads and drunken driving overturned the coach. From one of these accidents he was able to collect a few hundred dollars damages. He used the money to aid his clergy when missionary offerings failed. "There," he would say to his wife, when he dispatched the gift, "there goes another one of my ribs!"

Such were the hazards of travel in Illinois that even his own wholly sober driving did not prevent accidents. While traveling across the prairie some thirty miles from Peoria in the summer of 1837 he came unexpectedly upon a sharp declivity ending in a quagmire. In the sudden descent his carriage overturned and he was thrown forward upon the necks of the horses, two of his ribs being broken on the sharp end of the hames. He was in such pain that he thought for a time that he was dying. He was alone and could hope for no help since, as he said, "the road being a mere trail, no one might be expected to pass on it for days to come." He recovered sufficiently to get the floundering horses out of the swamp, then by hitching them to the tongue pulled the carriage out, still on its side, on to some sloping ground. By shifting his trunk so as to weight the side opposite to that which he lifted, he finally succeeded in righting the carriage. He drove six miles to the nearest cabin and at every bump in the trail his broken ribs felt, he said,

"like the piercing of a sword through the breast." He induced the occupant of the cabin to drive him the rest of the way home where, according to the medical practice of the time, the surgeon not only set his ribs but bled him.

The bishop's son Dudley was ordained in 1842 and for the next seven years he accompanied his father on his episcopal visitations. From Dudley's accounts of some of these journeys it appears that bad roads did not offer the only obstacles to travel in Illinois. Extreme heat in summer and extreme cold in winter, added to the long distances, provided additional discomforts. Crossing a twenty mile stretch of prairie in northern Illinois in the heat of August, 1843, he says, "our dog died of thirst, and as we neared a house and a wood one of our horses dropped dead. We were only kept from suffering by the water melons we provided ourselves with."

In January of the next year they went by sleigh in below-zero weather to a service in Bureau County. After the first ten miles through inhabited country they struck the prairie "where we took the untravelled course now hidden by drifting snow for twenty-two miles. The large sleigh was well filled with hay and provided with wraps and furs. On these the bishop lay and was covered up. . . . I rode and ran by turns but kept the fine team we had in a brisk trot. There was no road track and no land mark to steer by except a lone clump of trees about half way across, and this could only be seen on the crest of hilly slopes. The dark horses became white with frost and icicles hung from their nostrils. We frequently had to ask each other, 'are you alive?' But we were preserved from freezing." Two months before this the bishop wrote to one of his friends in England: "In a few days I shall be sixty-eight years of age and in the past season have travelled through the length and breadth of a diocese larger than all England and Wales put together, and for five weeks in course have preached as many times save one as there were days in that period."

Visiting established parishes and organizing new ones was by no means the bishop's sole occupation. There was, to begin with, his farm. "When I arrived at the confines of my diocese," he wrote later, "I had not a house or even a cabin to flee to for shelter. The towns and villages were all filled up with adventurers, all trying to get money from new comers; rents were enormously high, even for the meanest of dwellings, and provisions were even higher. . . . My only resource was to choose me a farm or that which might be made such."

With his unerring instinct for good farm land he bought out the claim of a squatter on a tract eleven miles northeast of Peoria, and as soon as the land came on the market he purchased it at the government

price of \$1.25 an acre. Writing to his nephew he says there were two cabins on the land, "without floor, or windows, or doors, or chimney." He took one down and put it up again next to the other, "thus making what is called a double cabin." This primitive dwelling, with some later frame additions, remained the "Bishop's Palace" till 1842. He called it Robins Nest, because, he said, it was made "of sticks and mud and filled with young ones."

The farm of about 300 acres contained both high lands and low bottom lands, the latter "enormously fertile." "The corn," says Dudley Chase, "by actual measurement was fifteen feet high," and an acre yielded 100 bushels of it. The yield of turnips per acre was 1,000 bushels. There was wood on the bluffs and "underneath were veins of bituminous coal." "Quail and partridge were plentiful and deer roamed in herds." On Dudley's return in 1838 from Trinity College, Hartford, where he had been studying, he was impressed by the abundance on the farm. "The evening meal," he says, "was no Hartford college light tea. There were joints of beef, several dishes of mealy potatoes, and all kinds of vegetables, coffee and cakes, milk and butter in profusion and then such melons!"

The farm, like every farm the bishop had set his hand to, prospered. But it needed a vigilant eye. In 1848, when he was seventy-three, he mentioned in a letter to one of his granddaughters that he had devised a method of keeping down the weeds in the vegetable garden, adding, "If you say this is too much for a bishop to attend to, I reply that I was of the same mind myself but have changed it lately for this simple reason, viz., that if the bishop do not attend to it no one else will. For many years past I have tried to throw this duty on to the backs of others but . . . the weeds have always had the upper hand."

From the moment Chase set foot in Illinois he had in mind the founding of a college. We cannot here consider his plans for this, his journey to England in 1835, his collection of funds there from old friends and new, his purchase of 3,000 acres adjacent to his farm as the college site in 1838, and the opening of Jubilee College, as he called it, two years later. His success in collecting money for his projects was extraordinary. He received large sums not only in England on two visits a decade apart but also on tours of the eastern and southern States in this country. Having once enlisted the support of a generous giver he continued to hold it by regular correspondence. Many of his English friends, to say nothing of those in this country, sent him money up to the last year of his life.

As Bishop Clarke of Rhode Island said, Chase "had a genius for begging and this with him was one of the fine arts." Chase, himself,

in a letter to his wife on one of his money-raising tours in the East described his methods. Get your cause, he said, well known and talked of before starting any subscription. He outlined his technique for this:

1. Collect names of likely givers, of all denominations.
2. Induce editors to take up your cause.
3. Preach on the subject and get others to do so.
4. Converse with groups got up for the purpose.
5. Send around pamphlets full of information.
6. Publish frequent short stories relating to the cause.

In addition we find him making private calls on likely givers as well as writing letters covering the printed leaflets and pamphlets sent out. He anticipated by a century the methods of modern publicity firms and endowment raisers. Indeed he could have learned little in this line even from the late Bishop Lawrence.

Once he gained a personal hearing he was well-nigh irresistible. Bishop Clarke in his *Reminiscences* tells this story: At a dinner in New York with a small company of wealthy men Chase became uncommonly silent. When asked if there was anything troubling him he admitted that there was but didn't like to mention it. They pressed him. He finally said that he was worried about how he was to get back home: he had no carriage and no money to buy one. At once one of the gentlemen said it would be a pleasure to furnish him with one. Upon this the bishop rallied, but he soon relapsed into his melancholy. He was asked if anything were still troubling him. Again, after urging, he admitted that there was. It had occurred to him, he said, that the best of vehicles would be of little use without horses to pull it. These were immediately assured him and once more he became a very agreeable companion.

In addition to raising money for his college, superintending his farm, and overseeing his diocese, Bishop Chase became, on the death of Bishop Griswold in 1843, presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church. Shortly before he had written: "I have none of this *otium cum dignitate*; I possess no well arranged study . . . I have to plan for the building up of Jubilee College . . . I have to prepare my sermons and preach twice or thrice every Sunday and often on intermediate days, besides 'the care of all the churches'—travelling throughout the summer and autumn; and when I am at home I have much of parochial duty and . . . a correspondence unusually extensive. . . . I have to rise often at midnight and mostly from two to three o'clock in the morning to accomplish what is done. This letter is indited between three and four of this first day of February, 1842; so you see I am not romancing."

Between the ages of sixty and seventy-seven he so built up the Episcopal Church in Illinois that where there had been but four clergy and five parishes when he took up the work, there were thirty clergy and fifty parishes when he laid it down. Despite his involvement in agricultural and academic pursuits, he was an indefatigable preacher, never missing an opportunity to conduct services, to exhort, and to instruct. While awaiting the arrival of a river steamer he preached by moonlight to his fellow-travellers, sitting on their luggage. When he came to an inn he would say to his host: "If I stop, I must be permitted to preach a sermon to you and your neighbors in this room at early candle-lighting." On one such occasion the host told his son to go round the town and announce the service, asking the bishop to what Church he belonged. "I belong," said the bishop, "to the Church that translated the Bible." The host's son, getting this slightly twisted, announced that the man who translated the Bible would speak. This brought out a crowd.

Some of the occasions on which the Bishop gave religious instruction are, to say the least, surprising. He had the unusual ability of shaving himself without a looking glass and one morning in July, 1837, having spent the night sleeping in his wagon on the banks of the Mississippi, he sat down on a log near the river and prepared to shave. A group of boys from some nearby cabins, he says, "seeing a stranger flourish a razor in such a place thought that he meditated suicide and gathered round him in astonishment." He adds that he improved the occasion by teaching them the Ten Commandments!

In the early '40's he visited Elgin on the Fox River, "a village with a few houses, a hotel and a mill." He stopped at the hotel and at dinner time "as the guests were rushing to secure seats with much clatter of chairs and talk, the bishop, standing at the head of the table rapped loudly and said, 'Let us first ask God's blessing on our food.' In sheer astonishment many stood agape," but they were silent while grace was said. During the meal it was announced that the bishop would hold a service at the schoolhouse at 4 P. M. Being a week day, no one appeared at that hour. "Ring the bell," said the bishop. It was rung, but no one came. "Ring it again," he said. One individual came, looked in, and retreated. "Ring it till they come," commanded the bishop. At this continued ringing every last inhabitant turned out to see what was the matter and the bishop had a full congregation.

In 1850 he returned from the meeting of the General Convention at Cincinnati by steamboat. When Sunday came he announced a service. After dinner the tables in the dining room were cleared and the bell rung. The passengers crowded in. They were a rough lot. Most of

them had never before seen a bishop or heard of a Prayer Book, but the bishop, following his invariable custom, proceeded to have a Prayer Book service, explaining the parts as he went along. He began by reading and remarking on the fitness of two or three of the opening sentences as preparing the heart for worship. He then read and commented on the Exhortation. That done, he said, "Now, dear friends, let us kneel down and confess our sins to Almighty God." Two or three knelt. With a little deeper bass the bishop's voice rolled through the room: "My friends, kneeling is the fit position in which to confess our sins to God!" A few more went down. Banging his fist on the table, the old man roared in a voice of thunder, "Kneel down, I say, every one of you!" "And," said one who was present, "they all went down as if they had been shot."

In his last years, when he found it too exhausting to preach more than once on a Sunday, he had a small frame house built near his dwelling as a Sunday School room and there on Sunday afternoons, in place of a second sermon, he instructed some twenty-five children. He found in this activity one of his greatest satisfactions.

Having been the victim of so many travel accidents during his life it seems almost appropriate that his death, in 1852, resulted from another. It was thus described by his wife: "Tuesday afternoon he was riding out for exercise. He returned to the house and calling to me said 'it was cool and pleasant and wished I could accompany him.' We were in the buggy and had not gone out of sight of the houses when a trace slipped—we had just commenced a slight descent—the horse with a bound cleared himself from the carriage—I think my husband still held the rein or it had slipped round his wrist. I had the agony of seeing him thrown with violence to the ground. His shoulder and hip struck first. I saw his head was not struck, and deriving courage from that, I raised it. Consciousness returned and he uttered a cry of agony. In a few minutes he was surrounded by students and laborers. His first words were: 'You may order my coffin. I am glad of it.' He was carried to his house and five days later died.

"There was very little of the commonplace in the life of Bishop Chase," said Bishop Clark of Rhode Island, "so there were no neutral traits in his character. . . . Right or wrong he was not easily diverted from his course, and his own strong conviction that he was sure to be right was one of the secrets of his power. He was never ashamed of his divine master, and did not seem to know what the fear of man meant."

"He died," said Greenough White, "leaving, after every deduction has been made for faults of temper and method, an imperishable name in the annals of American Christianity."

BOOK REVIEWS

The Arts and Religion. By Albert E. Bailey with Kenneth John Conant, Henry Augustine Smith and Fred Eastman. Macmillan. Pp. 180. \$2.50.

This book is the Ayer Lectures of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School for 1943. While in intent a brilliant summary, the book yet presents original and fascinating conclusions on the relations of all the arts to religion and their expression in religion.

The introductory essay on "The Antiquity and Universality of the Arts" is excellent reading. Professor Bailey has used sound scholarship in discussing the essential *ethos* governing each of the types of worship. His careful deductions from the Hebrew and Gentile backgrounds of Christianity will delight all students. The first chapter on painting and sculpture has been well documented and excellently illustrated.

Professor Conant, of Harvard, has done the section on architecture. His vast learning and appreciation of the orthodox feeling toward liturgical art has resulted in a splendid chapter. There are worth-while remarks on the structure of the Church building as seen in strict conformity to the whole life of the worshipping people.

The chapter on music is the result of the study of H. Augustine Smith. Here the treatment is divided skillfully into tonal structure, expression, schools of music and a summary of Church music in this country. The splendid orthodox liturgical music is expertly treated. There are remarks on the Lutheran contribution to Church music; and the too little known Calvinist tradition is well brought in. The nice distinction between the sentimental and the robust in Church music shows the touch of the expert.

Dr. Fred Eastman, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, has presented a striking chapter on "The Dramatist and the Minister." He makes the plea for more "drama" and less "theater" both in services and preaching emphasizing the really serious consequences which can ensue when the minister fails to realize both for himself and his people the essential drama in which they are both involved. His rules, which are frank and practicable, are of value through his insistence that all service is to be judged on its total effect, and not in parts; and that all of it is to be offered to God. In this respect, what he has to say on the result of misplaced announcements in the service will delight all who look for good liturgics in the Church's services.

The conclusions while concerned chiefly with Protestant worship are well worth thoughtful consideration by all who are striving after better liturgical services. This final chapter may appear heterodox at first reading to some, but among other things it does point up the proverb *nihil humani alienum est* in regard to religion.

Among the illustrations are ten drawings representing Dr. Conant's research work in ancient architecture, which are published for the first time. The biography and indices are completely satisfactory.

JAMES MORGAN.

A SISTER CHURCH

[From *The Guardian*]

The Living Church Annual. The Yearbook of the Episcopal Church.
Morehouse-Gorham Co., New York.

Ever since Dr. Routh sent the messengers of Samuel Seabury to Scotland to obtain from the Episcopal Church consecration which he was unable to get elsewhere, English and Scottish Churchmen have been giving increasing attention to all that concerns the Episcopal Church of America. The bond of union between the Churches has naturally grown stronger during the eventful years in which the two peoples have been engaged in a common struggle for liberty. The appearance of the *Living Church Annual* in this country is, therefore, very welcome at this time, enabling us as it does to learn more of our sister Church in the U. S. A.

"How has the Church fared?" the editor naturally asks, "during the first years of World War II?" For the most part, he tells us, "the statistics as reported during the year 1944, representing largely the parochial reports for 1943, the second year of the war, indicate continued growth, with two noticeable exceptions—Church-school teachers and scholars." Perhaps in regard to scholars this decline in numbers can be partly accounted for by the absence from their parishes of nearly five hundred clergy in the Forces. The number of communicants has steadily increased over a long period of years, and is now considerably over one and a half million.

Events of the past year are carefully recorded, including the death of Dr. Temple, the visit to the American Church of the archbishop of York, together with biographical notices of American bishops who have been consecrated or who have died since the last issue of the *Annual*. Detailed information is given concerning every diocese. A general clergy list is provided. Very useful to English readers will be the maps of the Provinces, eight in number, showing the location of each diocese. Of great value to the historian is the table of the succession of American bishops, from Samuel Seabury, consecrated in Aberdeen, November 14, 1784, and William White and Samuel Provoost, consecrated at Lambeth on February 4, 1787, to the 450th bishop consecrated on October 25, 1944, Reginald Mallett, in St. James' Church, South Bend, Indiana, as third bishop of the diocese of Northern Indiana. In each case the names of the consecrators are given, or for brevity, the number of the consecrator by which his name is easily found. The date of the consecration and the name of the diocese to which the bishop is consecrated are also given. The archbishop of York is re-

corded as having taken part in the consecration of Bishop Dun on April 19, 1944.

In more ways than one, the *Living Church Annual* is a publication of value and of interest.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

A History of the Expansion of Christianity: Volume VII, "Advance Through Storm." By Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1945. 542 pp. \$4.

In 1937 Professor Kenneth S. Latourette, of the chair of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University, published the first volume of his monumental *History of the Expansion of Christianity*. Between then and 1944 five succeeding volumes appeared. Early this year the final volume was issued. Its title is *Advance Through Storm*; and in it the author carries out the two-fold task of (a) summarizing the story of the development of Christianity from 1914 till 1944; and (b) stating the general conclusions which he has reached concerning the history of the Christian faith as the result of his long and diligent study.

The thirty years which have elapsed since the outbreak of the first World War have been years of tumult and travail, of world-wide war and revolution. It might have been supposed that amid such circumstances Christianity would decline; and to some extent this has been true. In Europe, for example, traditionally the chief center of Christianity, the Christian faith lost ground. But on the whole, Professor Latourette maintains, on the basis of his careful and well-documented study, that "Christianity . . . in 1944 was a more potent factor in the total world scene than it had been in 1914." For this statement he gives three reasons. In the first place, Christianity was more nearly evenly distributed over the earth's surface in 1944 than it had been in 1914. Secondly, in 1944 it was better rooted in a larger number of peoples than in 1914. In the newer churches of the East, leadership was rapidly ceasing to be foreign and was becoming indigenous; and increasingly the financial support was being found locally. Indeed, for the first time in its history, Christianity was becoming really world-wide and not a colonial or imperial extension, ecclesiastically speaking, of an Occidental faith. Thirdly, Christianity was a growing factor in human affairs, e. g., in the efforts to regulate and eliminate war, to emancipate women, and to relieve and prevent famine.

This optimistic conclusion does not mean, of course, that Christianity had no serious problems to face in the world of 1944. Clearly it had—for example, the problem of division within its ranks, and that of secularism in the world around. But its history up till now appears to justify reasonable confidence in its future development.

In generalizing about the whole story of the development of Christianity, Professor Latourette expounds the view that

"the course of Christianity in the history of mankind has been somewhat like that of an incoming tide. . . . When viewed against mankind as a whole . . . it is seen to have great periods of advance and recession. In each major advance it becomes more widely potent in human life than in the one before it, and each recession is marked by less dwindling of the impact of Christianity than the one which immediately preceded it" (p. 418).

This general proposition he illustrates as follows:

"At the outset was the advance of the first five centuries. Then came the longest and most disheartening of all the recessions, roughly from A. D. 500 to A. D. 950. This was succeeded by a forward push which stretched from A. D. 950 to A. D. 1350. After this ensued another retreat, briefer and not so extensive as its predecessor, from A. D. 1350 to A. D. 1500. The next surge of the tide, from A. D. 1500 to A. D. 1750, made Christianity more of a factor in human affairs than did either of the ones before it. Then there came, from A. D. 1750 to A. D. 1815, what was not so much a recession as a pause in the onward sweep of Christianity. From 1815 to 1914 (was) the great century, for it was the era in which Christianity for the first time became world-wide" (pp. 418-9).

It is difficult to know which to admire the more in Professor La-tourette's massive and well-documented volumes, the patient research which dug out the mass of facts and figures with which they are studded, or the gift of brilliant generalization which sees the meaning of these facts and figures and synthesizes them. Without question his seven-volume work will long remain the standard treatise in its field.

NORMAN V. HOPE.

*New Brunswick Theological Seminary,
New Brunswick, N. J.*

Under Orders. By William Laurence Sullivan. New York. Richard R. Smith, 1944. 200 pp. \$2.50.

This is a fragment of autobiography written by the late Dr. William L. Sullivan. Born in Massachusetts in 1872, of Irish and devoutly Roman Catholic parentage, he was educated for the service of the Paulist Fathers, and ordained to the Roman Catholic priesthood in 1899. He soon became well known as a teacher and even more as a preacher. But it was not long before he came to find much in the Roman system which was utterly distasteful to him. On grounds of intellectual honesty, he objected to such Roman dogmas as the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility, and more generally, to the reactionary and obscurantist attitude taken by the Vatican towards modern scholarship. Believing strongly in the moral teaching of Jesus Christ, he became increasingly impatient with the cruel and treacherous practices of the In-

quisition, and with the various excuses for such practices advanced by Roman apologists. The conflict in his mind and heart grew so acute that in 1909 he left the Roman Church. In 1911, under the influence of the writings of James Martineau, the great English liberal, Dr. Sullivan became a Unitarian; and subsequently he served as pastor in Unitarian congregations in New York City and Germantown, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1935.

This book, left unfinished at Dr. Sullivan's death, is an account of his spiritual pilgrimage. It records in fine prose the struggle of a devout American Modernist against Papal arrogance and intolerance; and, among other things, it contains in brief compass (Chapter VII) the best statement of the case against the Papal Infallibility decree of 1870 known to the present reviewer. But he does not tell why, in rejecting Roman Catholicism, he rejected every other form of Catholicism or Orthodox Protestantism. His death brought his manuscript to an abrupt conclusion before he reached the point of explaining this process. A fair inference is that he was of that temperament which swings like a pendulum from one extreme to another.

Father Duffy, of New York, who later won fame as a chaplain in World War I, was one of the American Modernists and was editor of the *New York Review*, designed to present the "liberal" view within Roman Catholicism. It was short-lived, and Duffy submitted. Sullivan's explanation of Duffy's submission is as follows (pp. 106-107):

"I fancy that Duffy's Irish grandmother, or someone else in his Celtic line, was sufficient to repel the whole hosts of critics. There is in many of the Irish a fierceness of clan-loyalty too passionate for reason to parley with, too tempestuous for anything to hold on to but their wild emotions. I am by no means insinuating that men of that type are not good reasoners, for they usually are; or that they are intellectually timorous, for they often are not; but I have seen so many of them, whose undying romanticism has persisted through a long discipline of study, and remained dominant in them when logic has done its best to subordinate it, that I give up the attempt to comprehend their psychological processes. It is my own race, and I recognize its precious gifts. But when the fires are lighted in its subrational depths, heaven alone knows what will happen on its rational surface."

This book may be regarded as an American contribution to the story of Roman Catholic Modernism, which sprang up in the latter half of the 19th century. Its leaders—men like Abbé Alfred F. Loisy (1857-1940), the Frenchman, and Fr. George Tyrrell (1861-1909), the Irishman—wanted liberty to harmonize Roman Catholic dogma with modern truth as discovered by science and biblical research. But Pope Pius X in his Encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, issued in 1907, condemned the whole movement, thus sounding its death-knell in the Roman Communion. Some made their submission to papal obscurantism; others left the Roman Church or were excommunicated. Dr. Sullivan's moving

fragment of autobiography illuminates the American aspect of the Modernist movement in the Roman Catholic Church.

NORMAN V. HOPE.

*New Brunswick Theological Seminary,
New Brunswick, New Jersey.*

Philadelphia Lawyer. An Autobiography by George Wharton Pepper. Philadelphia. J. B. Lippincott and Company. Pp. 407.

Comparatively few men in this day and generation have had a more varied and interesting career than George Wharton Pepper, and still fewer have demonstrated the ability to set it forth in such an enlightening fashion. A typical Philadelphian, a great trial lawyer, an ardent Republican, a United States Senator; a devout churchman, vestryman, warden, member of the old Board of Missions and an influential lay deputy in several General Conventions, he has played many parts on the stage of life, all with credit to himself and to the advantage of the country. Probably he is the only lawyer ever to write an excellent devotional manual, as he is also the only layman ever invited to deliver the Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching at Yale. The Autobiography outlines his three main interests in life—The Law; Politics; and the Church. Lawyers will appreciate the recital of the leading cases in which he has appeared. Politicians will note his excellent pen sketches of Harding, Coolidge, Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt, and especially some first rate Coolidge stories. Readers of this Magazine will be especially interested in his relation to the Church. For fifty years he has served on the vestry of St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia, a leading Anglo-Catholic parish, where he regularly made his early communions and attended every day in Lent. For twenty years a member of the Board of Missions he became a strong advocate of foreign missions. He was influential in the House of Deputies, though the elder J. Pierpont Morgan said of him: "That young man Pepper is an impudent chap." In a little unwritten history Pepper thus sets forth the origin of the World Conference on Faith and Order in the General Convention of 1910. He writes:

"One evening walking back from the convention hall we three (Bishop Brent, Robert Hallowell Gardiner, of Maine, and Pepper) were reviewing the change-of-name controversy and the whole problem of Christian Unity. Said the bishop, 'There never can be an approach toward unity until we all discuss our differences as well as our agreements. We must drag our differences out of the shadow and bring them into the sunlight.' We all three stood still. 'Why not agitate for that very thing?' I asked. 'Why not advocate a world conference on questions of faith and order?' suggested Gardiner. 'We cannot begin too soon,' said the bishop; 'there is no time like the present; but we must make it clear that our purpose is to exclude the promotion of any scheme of unity and merely to create better mutual understanding by a frank discussion of different points of view.'"

This Autobiography abounds in human interest. But it has a deeper significance. It enshrines the life story of how an intelligent, high-minded citizen can enrich life at many points. So long as America breeds such men we need have no fear for the future of our country.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Christ's Church at the Town of Rye in the County of Westchester and the State of New York, 1695-1945. A Chronological Historical Review. Pp. 40.

This booklet is an admirable illustration of what a parish can do to preserve its history when it is not in a position to expand it into a book. It is a summary of the outstanding events in the life of the parish, the main source being the Minutes of the Wardens and Vestrymen and supplemented by the local history of the town and that of the Church in Westchester County. It utilizes sources which are available to any parish and furnishes an example which should be widely followed.

E. C. C.

St. Peter's Church in Salem, Massachusetts, Before the Revolution. By Harriet Silvester Tapley. Salem, Massachusetts. The Essex Institute. 1944. Pp. 92.

The first St. Peter's in Salem was built in 1733 and this beautifully printed and well illustrated volume sets forth its story up to the outbreak of the War of the Revolution. It is based upon records going back to 1629, and is not merely the story of a church but also of a community, with pen pictures of the leading citizens and many excellent portraits of the clergy and laity. The biographical sketches of the early ministers are particularly good, and the explanatory footnotes are all that could be desired, being both full and accurate. All in all it is a valuable contribution to the history of church life and work in what was then an alien atmosphere.

E. C. C.

NOTICE

The careful attention of readers of this Magazine is directed to the following articles in the January number of the *William and Mary*

Quarterly, which have an important bearing on American Church History:

1. "Jonathan Boucher: Champion of the Minority," by Robert G. Walker.
2. "Dr. Thomas Bray's Trip to Maryland: A Study in Militant Anglican Humanitarianism," by Samuel Clyde McCulloch.
3. "William Byrd's Defense of Sir Edmund Andros," by Louis B. Wright. (This should be read in conjunction with Dr. Brydon's article on Blair in the current issue of this Magazine.

E. C. C.

from Morehouse-Gorham Co.

THE AMERICAN LECTIONARY

By Bayard H. Jones

A scholarly treatise on the official Lectionary of the Episcopal Church, adopted by the General Convention, 1943. Its 163 pages tell the fascinating story of the revolutionary changes made by the Committee on the Lectionary, giving the Church the most comprehensive and intelligent course of lessons of any liturgical communion. Included in this book is the only history of the development of the Church Year, from its few outstanding festivals to the "Cycle of Sundays" with which we are now familiar. Of great practical value are the chapters on themes of the Sunday choices, and alternative epistles and gospels for week-days. *"A superbly useful job, extremely well done."*—The Living Church.

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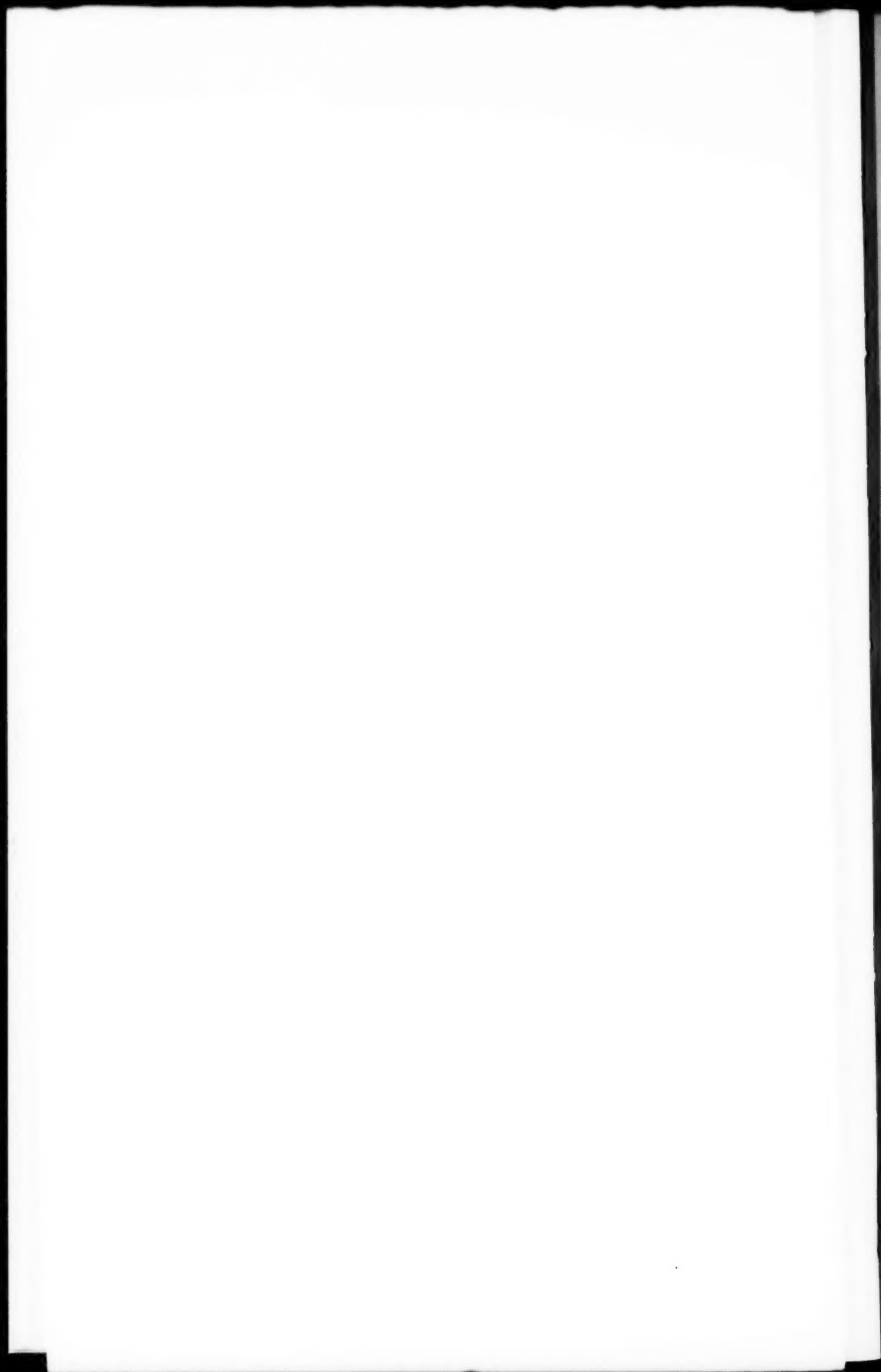
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